

CORRUPTION

&

STRUGGLE

IN

IRAN

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Rude Awakening Due For US-Shah Illusion

"The United States will participate in the defense and development of allies and friends, but America cannot - and will not - conceive all the plans, design all the programs, execute all the decisions and undertake all the defense of the free nations of the world. We will help where it makes a real difference and is considered in our interest."

United States Foreign Policy For The 1970's:
A New Strategy for Peace

The President's Report to the Congress Feb. 18, 1970

Not long after Nixon made this statement, the Shah echoed it saying: "I think the U.S. has realized that it cannot be an international gendarme and therefore, the stability of the world must be protected by those countries who will accept this responsibility in different regions. And who is more willing to accept this responsibility than the Shah himself. In October of last year, the Shah celebrated the "2500th year of Iranian monarchy" with one of the most extravagant and pompous feasts of the century. In the past year, the U.S. tripled its military aid to Iran. In the last nine months the Shah has discharged his police apparatus in a campaign of terror to carry out arrests, tortures and executions with clockwork rapidity. The sum total of these events is that while the world and the American people are eagerly looking for peace in S.E. Asia U.S. Imperialism is planting the seeds of another Vietnam in the Middle East. (When we refer to U.S. Imperialism, we mean only the government and ruling class. We are in no way referring to the American people, toward whom we hold warm and friendly feelings.)

As Nixon admitted himself, the Middle East is "an area with great resources and prospects for economic progress". The Middle East as a whole and particularly the countries that border the shores of the Gulf contain 70% of the world's known crude oil reserves. Oil, at the moment is the most important source of power not only as fuel for aircraft, mot cars, railways, etc. but it is also the greatest source for the generation of power. Aside from this, a great new section of the chemical industry has developed out of the oil distilling industry. A branch of this, the petro-chemical industry, today accounts for 65% of the production value of all the basic intermediate chemicals in use in the U.S. The U.S., as the world's largest oil consumer, reaps a profit of 1500 thousand million pounds sterling from the Middle East oil. Western Europe and Japan depend on it entirely as a source of energy. Thus the economic importance of this area cannot be underestimated.

In order to insure constant access to the area and its resources, the U.S. pumps millions in military "aid" into the Middle East yearly. American investments in Saudi Arabia alone have been estimated at 2500 million dollars over the past ten years. On top of this, according to

figures released by the Iranian Central Bank, the yearly average foreign aid to Iran between 1954 to 1969 was equivalent to 132.23 million dollars. Over the past year, the U.S. has granted the Shah a total of 39 million dollars in loans to strengthen the government's ability to buy more American military equipment to use against its opposition - those who are courageously and justifiably struggling to end their oppression. In this way, at the cost of the people's hard labor, starvation, poverty, the U.S. is plundering the resources of these "free nations" and squeezing out billions of dollars in profit for its own benefit alone. This is U.S. Imperialism's policy toward those "free nations" whose puppet governments support and defend these wretched "interests" of the U.S. and it is through these puppets that the U.S. assures its political and economic control over the area - assures that it will be able to continue to plunder the wealth of these countries.

However, the local governments are not the only force which the U.S. has to contend with. The Middle East is a hot-bed of anti-imperialist national liberation struggles which threaten the very political and economic interests which the U.S. needs so dearly to protect. Along side of the struggle of the Palestinian people, the people of Dhofar have been struggling relentlessly against the sultan of Oman for six years and the people of Yemen successfully liberated the southern part of that country in 1967, creating the People's Republic of Southern Yemen. Iran has been another arena of national liberation struggle which has experienced a new upsurge of intensity over the past few years. Facing defeat in S.E. Asia, the U.S. cannot afford politically or economically to suffer a second defeat in the Middle East.

The question of maintaining political control over the Middle East, particularly in the Gulf, and of crushing the national liberation struggles of the region assumed urgent proportions when the British were forced to withdraw their forces from the Gulf in 1971. Realizing the power vacume which would be created and the consequent danger to their interests, the U.S. and British imperialists collaborated in a joint plan to protect the interests of both. As Nixon so aptly put it in his speech to Congress (Feb. 1970): "This area presents one of the sternest tests of our quest for peace through partnership and accomodation of interests...the United States is challenged to find new relationships in helping all the people of the area marshal their resources to share in progress." And so, in this spirit of "partnership" and "accomodation of interests", the U.S. with the full approval of Britain "found a new relationship" with the Shah, giving him the responsibility of protector and sentry to marshal the interests of imperialism in the Gulf. The Shah, this faithful servant of imperialism, graciously accepted the responsibility bluntly declaring that "Iran is ready to replace Britain as the protector and the guard of the Gulf...we are the only country which has the necessary military and economic possibilities to protect and support the region..." In accordance with this plan, the U.S. has increased the militarization of Iran and its investment rate, further contributing to the economic crisis of the country and creating greater financial captivity for the Iranian people. Mr. James Linen (head of the Committee for Promotion of American Investments in Iran and chairman of the Executive Committee of Time, Inc.) gave open credence to this at the first conference on American investments in Iran, saying: "The U.S. considers Iran as the main base in the Middle East." With this in mind, the Shah has increased

his defense budget from 58.7 to 77.5 billion rials, a 32% increase, and is in the process of building military stations around the Gulf region. The international press has begun to take note of these activities: "Iran is building a strong air-strike force around its fantom jets and plans to triple the size of its navy from now to 1977." (Christian Science Monitor, Jan. 18, 1972); "Iran is being equipped with American aircraft, British tanks, and now with strategically placed Arab rocks (the three islands attacked by the Shah last December) to be the defender of western interests in the area." (The Economist - London, Dec. 4, 1971) Although the Shah will pocket some marginal profit in this arrangement, the whole cost of the defence of this region must be paid by the Iranian government, in reality by the Iranian people.



Preparing to establish control in the Persian Gulf and Iran's hegemony in the Gulf area, and warily eyeing the growing opposition of the Iranian people to his reactionary regime, the Shah felt that the time was opportune for stirring up a little international attention and thus last October staged his extravaganza celebration of 2500 years of Iranian monarchy. Acting like an ostrich with his head buried in the sand, the Shah, blind to the extreme poverty and contemptible living conditions of his people, wretchedly proceeded to lavish the best of Parisian designers and gourmets with millions to prepare the baudiest of royal banquets! The awesome figures spent for the Shah's pleasures were extracted from a nation whose children, over half of those between the ages of 7 to 14, are wage earners. While 40% of Iranian families live in one room, kings and queens lounged in the comfort of ornate tents designed by Jansen of Paris. While statistics show that each Iranian consumes only 2.7 pounds of meat per month, the regime commissioned Maxim's of Paris to prepare feasts. While the Iranian people need schools, doctors, food and housing, the Shah spent around \$1 billion to entertain the world's richest. These barbarous crimes were cunningly conceived by the Shah for three futile purposes:

1. Trying to cover up the bankruptcy of his regime, the Shah hoped to convince the Iranian people and the people around the world that monarchy is the only and the best form of government for the Iranian people and that the stability and progress of the nation depends on maintaining it. In this regard, he also hoped to convincingly present a picture of unity between the Iranian people and the Iranian government, all "celebrating" together, and thus divert national and international attention away from opposition to the government.
2. In order to prepare the Iranian people for any kind of defense of the imperialists interests, the Shah tried to agitate the nationalist feelings of the people by resorting to ancient traditions.
3. In order to assure the U.S. and other investors, the Shah hoped to demonstrate the "stability", "independence" and "strength" of his regime and thus divert their attention from the intensifying economic and political crisis in the country.

And what was lurking backstage and motivating the whole show? It was precisely the Shah's newly accepted role of gendarme of the Persian Gulf region. For how could he carry out such a task if his regime was

rotting to the core, and how could he turn his military apparatus on the people of the region in blatant acts of aggression if he faced widespread opposition inside his own country.



But Alas! The Shah and his masters plotted their devious schemes too late. For the Iranian people are already boiling with hatred for his regime and are instilled with deep love for the struggling people of Palestine and Dhofar. They will not allow their country's wealth to be further plundered by international imperialism nor will they allow their country to be turned into a base of aggression against the people of Palestine and Dhofar who suffer the same plight at the hands of imperialism. Since 1970, the Iranian people have risen up with renewed strength in an upsurge of sustained economic and political struggles. Prior to this period, the movement went underground for long years of preparation and rebuilding after the massacre of 1963. These were years of growth and enriching experience under the most repressive conditions. At the same time, the regime and its bosses were plundering the wealth of the nation, creating an economic crisis. The people's dissatisfaction with the economic, social and political corruption was growing. The growth of the underground movement and the growing dissatisfaction and unrest among the people grew parallel to each other and finally found joint expression in the bus strike of Feb. 1970. From the group of Jazani, arrested in 1966, to the Palestine 18, to the Siahkal incident, we can see a political and organizational growth and a growth in the strength of the organizations in their struggle against the regime. From the assassination of General Farsiou, to the bloody strike of the Djahan textile workers to the student strikes at Teheran University to the widespread activities opposing the 2500 Year Celebration we can see the spread and intensification of the overall struggle of people from various sectors of the society. A political communique from the Organization of Iranian Fighters expressed the meaning and purpose of this struggle as follows:

■ "In the name of God and the heroic people of Iran, it is the just right of all oppressed people to stand up and fight - God will assure their victory.

"To the honorable people of Iran:

"For years our country has suffered under the yolk of old and new colonialism. For years the material and cultural wealth of our people has been plundered by the imperialists, world capitalists and their local puppets. For years our toiling masses despite their increasing hard labor and despite the limitless natural wealth of our country have become more poverty stricken. All the Shah's reform programs in the cities and villages, which in effect were nothing but the demand of his imperialist masters, were aimed at crushing the aspirations of the people. These reforms not only haven't solved any of the problems but in fact have created new ones. The brutal oppression of the people daily increases. The imperialists and their traitorous local lackies persistently plan new schemes to further exploit our people and to continue to keep our country backward. Due to the country's important strategic position and by entering it into various political and military pacts, the imperialists have turned this region into a base for extending their aggression to the peoples of this area, particularly the heroic people

of Palestine and Dhofar.

"Inside the country, the Shah's reactionary regime consistently tries to brutally crush the people's movement whose aim is to liberate Iran from the yolk of the imperialists and their puppets. These attempts are fully supported by his American and Israeli masters and aided by the police and the local army.

"The history of Iran shows that our people have never surrendered and have waged a tireless struggle with many sacrifices in order to gain their just rights. In spite of the fact that their struggle has not been totally victorious in securing political power, in their arduous struggle to win independence and freedom, they have learned many valuable lessons.

"The arrest of more than 75 of our fighting brothers...although it occurred under the present day situation, was a heavy loss but the truth of the matter is that no one has gained independence without sacrifice..."



The Shah can no longer tolerate this spirit in the people and is no longer hiding behind "democratic" masks to hide his inner treachery. With his new role in mind, the Shah feels that the situation has become urgent and that he must not hesitate to annihilate all of his opposition once and for all, "stabilizing" Iran's internal situation so that he can better carry out his new gendarme role. Thus he has shifted his police machinery into high gear in a campaign of terror which is victimizing thousands. This campaign of terror began with the arrests of over 4,000 people around the time of the "2500 Year Celebration". Since then hundreds of members of underground organizations have been arrested, tried, tortured and executed at an ever accelerating rate. Already 23 Iranian patriots have been executed by firing squads for their political beliefs and their strong opposition to the Shah's regime and his secret police, SAVAK. On May 26, 1972, the S. F. Chronicle reported that an army firing squad has barbarically murdered 5 more patriots, bringing the total now to 28. The regime reportedly announced that they were convicted of murder, anti-state activities, kidnapping and hijacking. To add to this, recently the Confederation of Iranian Students, National Union, has received reliable information that another 12 patriots have been sentenced to death by secret military tribunals and may be executed at any time. Tens of others have been sentenced to long prison terms. All of these patriots are among the 143 political prisoners currently being fed through the machinery of the Shah's sham courts. What is their offense? Their offense is the fact that they gave expression to the genuine aspirations of the Iranian people by heroically fighting for democracy and independence.

Throughout this campaign, the Shah has followed his historical custom of violating even the most basic of human rights. Not only have the trials been held in secret but the crimes of the regime have ranged from retrying political prisoners for "crimes" they could never have participated in due to the fact that they were already being held prisoner at the time to executing 9 patriots without ever announcing their trials much less their appeal trials to suddenly executing 4 patriots who had only received terms of life imprisonment. Even the world press has been jolted by the extremes to which the Shah has gone to blatantly murder his opponents. Newsweek's Loren Jenkins gave a first hand report of the Shah's terror campaign in the April 24th issue:

"As a result of SAVAK's witch hunts, hundreds of suspects have been arrested without charge, and tortured to provide leads for further arrests. At least a dozen suspects have committed suicide rather than submit to interrogation by the police.

"Those who have appeared in court have not had it much better. According to observers allowed into the initial sessions in January, there was no cross-examination of witnesses and defense attorneys - officers and ex-officers who had been given crash courses in military law - often spent no more than five minutes pleading the cases of men who faced the death penalty. When foreign reporters and jurists criticized the proceedings, the regime closed the trials, refusing even to admit the parents of the defendants. 'To be frank,' said one Iranian journalist last week, 'no one but SAVAK and the government knows how many people are being tried any more or what their sentences are.'

"...Recently the Shah declared that the Western press has 'no right to advise on matters they know nothing about.'"

The Shah was more blunt when facing Paknejad (of the Palestine 18) in threatening: "Those who belong to the Confederation, those foreign lawyers who come to Iran as observers, even that member of the parliament who for showing off writes articles in the newspaper have taught you to say 'they have tortured us'. You who are condemned to life imprisonment - aren't you afraid that you will be tortured as long as you live? If we wanted to torture you we could do it every day of your life; you would never be able to get out of prison and nobody would be able to see you in jail." (Jan. 24, 1971)

If this is the regime's answer to the peoples struggle against international plunder of their country's wealth, against oppression, poverty and the fascist dictatorship of the Shah, the people are answering the regime with their soaring determination and the massive swell of their wave of struggle bringing the day of the downfall of the regime closer and closer. The Shah's will to annihilate this struggle, regardless of what task he has accepted from the imperialists, will never overcome the determination of the just struggle of the Iranian people. Nor will the U.S. military aid and fantom jets or the British tanks - gifts to secure the interests of these two infamous powers who pride themselves on their own "democratic" governments - be able to crush the struggles of the Iranian people or the people of Palestine and Dhofar for their own democratic rights, liberation and self determination. As people the world over are fighting for and winning their liberation, so will the people of Iran and the Middle East continue their struggle against the new acts of imperialist aggression to create another Vietnam in the Middle East.

WORLD & AMERICAN OUTRAGE AT SHAH'S REGIME

World Confederation of Iranian Students, raising the voice of the oppressed Iranian masses, has waged many worldwide campaigns to defend the just struggle of the Iranian people. In response to these campaigns, people in the U.S. and around the world have expressed both their support of the struggle of the Iranian people and their wholehearted condemnation of the Shah's brutality. The following are only a few of the many letters sent to Prime Minister Hoveyda as well as to the Confederation, expressing the people's sentiments.

'A HUNGRY NATION DOES NOT NEED A

2500 YEAR

CELEBRATION

A P P E A L

This autumn, the Iranian regime will celebrate the 2500th anniversary of the monarchy of Iran. For this occasion, many heads of states, prime ministers and high government functionaries as well as men of letters, artists, and scientists have been invited to Iran by the Shah and his government.

Because of the position they hold in their respective societies or in the world of culture, the majority of those invited are called upon to take part in these celebrations in order to pay tribute to the important and historic contributions rendered to the development of world civilisation by the Iranian people. This side of the matter based historically on the ancient civilisation of Iran is in fact valid; and this is the very aspect that the Iranian regime has striven to exploit most for the purpose of prestige and propaganda.

While recognising that there is no doubt as to the merits of the Iranian people for their contributions in the realms of arts, philosophy and literature, it must be made clear that the main goal of these celebrations is to highlight the traditions of monarchy in Iran and exploit the same as a "proof" of the continuity and stability of a regime to the oppressive character and instability of which testifies the very brutal suppression of the growing domestic opposition.

The oppression and misery to which the Iranian masses have been subjected by the Pahlavi Dynasty are only too well-known to require any mention here. Suffices to recall that in the past year alone many Iranian democrats and revolutionaries died at the hands of regime's henchmen either under torture or before the firing-squads.

An important aspect of the celebrations which throws light on the nature of the present monarchy in Iran is the heavy emphasis put by the propaganda machinery of the Iranian regime on the "aryan roots and traditions" of Iran - an ideology borrowed and propagated by the Pahlavi Dynasty from Hitler's Germany since 1930's.

This particular aspect of the celebrations and all the political crimes and oppression committed by the present regime in Iran should prevent all democratic and anti-fascist elements from identifying themselves with the celebrations and from taking part in the 2500th anniversary of monarchy in Iran.

Such participation in effect, would be tantamount to sanctioning all the crimes and oppression with which the Iranian monarchy is associated in the last 25 centuries; it would as well be an approval of the countless financial expenses directly or indirectly imposed on a people, a large majority of whom are deprived of the most elementary needs for a human and dignified survival.

Non participation, on the contrary, not only would be an authentic recognition of and testimony to the contributions rendered by the people of Iran to world civilisation, but would also signify support for the just struggle which the Iranian toiling masses have been waging in the past hundred years for a democratic and prosperous Iran.

It is in this light that we appeal to all those who cherish democracy and human dignity to boycott Shah's celebration of "2500th anniversary of Iranian monarchy".

FRANCE:

Jean Paul Sartre
Simone de Beauvoir
Michel Rocard, (S.G.) P.S.U.
Prof. Theodore Monod
Pierre Jalee

Pasteur Casalis
Montaron (Temoignage Chretien)
Avocat Henry Leclere
Louis Sageur (famous French
composer and musician)

U.S.A.:

Paul M. Sweezy, Monthly Review
Harry Mazdoff, Editor, Monthly
Review
Harry Braverman, Director,
Monthly Review Press
Eghbal Ahmad (Fellow at the
Adlai Stevenson Institute of
International Affairs)
I.F. Stone (Stone's Bi-Weekly)
Richard Cottam (author of
"Nationalism in Iran")
Orvike Schell (Bay Area
Institute, Co-Director, S.F.,
University of California of
Berkeley)

Franz Schurmann (Bay Area Institute,
Professor of History and Sociology,
University of California at Berkeley)
Tom Engelhard (Journalist, Pacific
News Service, San Francisco)
Bob Scheer (former Chief Editor of
Ramparts Magazine)
ASUC Berkeley (Associate-Student
University of California at Berkeley)
Paul Jacobs (Journalist and Television
commentator, San Francisco, Calif.)

GREECE:

Melina Mercouri

ITALY:

Alberto Moravia, Italian Novelist
Eugenio Garin, Writer
Enzo E. Agnoletti, Director,
Review "Il Pente"
Gian Maria Volonte
Dario Fo

Franca Rame, Artist
G. B. Cava Ilaro, Director Italian
Radio Television
Prof. Basse, Italian Member of
Parliament, Director, "Problems
of Socialism"

Italian Communist Party:

Gino Bertoldi
Tristano Codignola
Luciano De Pasqualis
Riccardo Lombardi

Giacomo Mancini
Giovanni Mosca Livio Labor, Italian
Movement of the Workers
Rossana Rossanda, II Manifesto Group

AUSTRALIA:

Bruce McFarlane, Prof. Political Science,
Australian National University

ENGLAND:

British Members of Parliament:

Ted Fletcher
David Watkins
William Wilson
Will Griffiths
Robert Edwards
James Sillars
Arthat Latham
John Mendelson

Norman Atkinson
Albert Booth
Sydney Bidwell
Kevin McNamara
Stanley Orme
Russell Kerr

British Labor Movement Leaders:

Audrey Wise, Union Shop Distri-
butive & Allied
Chris Child, Baker's Union
National President
Michael McGamey - National Union
Laurence Daly - of Mine Workers
Alan Sapper, A.C.T.T.
Harry Francis, Musician Union
Bill Jones, Transport & General
Workers Union (T.G.W.U.)
Brian - T.G.W.U.
Nicholson - (Region No. 1)
D.L. Thomas
John McDonald - Fire Brigade Union

F. W. Wright
L. K. Dixon
B. Martin
J. Bromley
K. Brett, Amalgamated Union of Foundry
Workers (A.E.F.)
G. M. Doughty, Amalgamated Union of
Engineering Workers
Ken Fleet, Secretary, Institute for
Workers Control
Ken Coates, Director, Bertrand Russell
Peace Foundation
Stan Newens, Chairman of Liberation
Movement for Colonial Freedom

SWEDEN:

Peter Limquico, Editor, Journal of
Contemporary Asia,
Prof. Gunnar Myrdal

THE POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE ARAB GULF

To our brothers and sisters among the Iranian students in the U. S. A.

Greetings of the revolution;

On the occasion of our arrival to the U.N. in order to present our people's cause and their just struggle against the imperialist presence, and the reactionary stooges of imperialism in the Arab Gulf ,

On the basis of the positions of the Popular Front and in view of its understanding that you and we stand together on the same anti-imperialist ground and in vehement opposition to the stooges of imperialism in our respective countries, we have the pleasure to extend to you the greetings of your revolutionary brothers in the Arab Gulf*. We very strongly support your struggle against Imperialism and its stooges in Iran. We join with you in condemning the festivities that have been organized by the Iranian government in celebration of 2500 birthday of the empire. Those celebrations that are being organized in Teheran by this oppressive regime which has subjected the Iranian people to the misery of humiliation, poverty, and under-development, are nothing but attempts to consolidate the present feudalistic and autocratic rule, by conducting and celebration to commemorate occasions that have been continuously usurping the Iranian people of their dignity and their glorious and humane history.

Brothers.

In the Arab Gulf* there is a popular revolution taking place. This revolution was ignited by the impoverished sectors of our people in the 9th of June, 1965, and has managed with its popular support to liberate 90% of the lands of the Southern Oman area of Dhofar.

The Front has succeeded in establishing schools, Iranian projects, people's self government committees to combat illiteracy and health centers in the liberated territories. It has abolished slavery, liberated women, and is presently conducting a political and military struggle against all imperialists and re-centers of reaction in the areas that are still under the Front's control.

The revolution has made possible in the Gulf in general the creation of an atmosphere of struggle among the people, which conforms with the objectives of the revolution. The workers, students, and peasants, and the great number of nationals of the Gulf are taking part in the national struggle at this stage, by actual fighting, demonstrations, and strikes. All these manifestations of the struggle express the indignation of our people and their rejection of the imperialist presence and reactionary stooges. As a result of the huge and organized escalation of the armed revolution in our obvious to the imperialists and their lackeys that the revolution constitutes the major danger to their presence and interests. Today they are committing horrible crimes against the rights of our people, such as

destruction of villages, burning of crops, and mass murder of citizens and their cattle. They are also conducting a blockade of food supplies and are indulging in campaigns designed to side-track the reclaims of the revolution. Mass arrests and psychological terrorism are also undertaken. All those actions are being undertaken by the British Air Force and mercenary infantry forces. They are also hastening to finalize the division of the Arab Gulf* and to establish spurious independence throughout the Gulf*. All this in order to establish larger barriers in the face of the revolution that is calling for the unity and independence from foreign domination.

Brothers;

The imperialists are striving to establish a holy pact against the revolution in the Gulf,. The pack consists of Iran, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the Sheikks. Alongside with them are the imperialists, U.S.A. and Britain; their goal is to stand in the way of our people's demands, their just revolution, and their victory throughout the area; ultimately to maintain their imperialist control.

Brothers;

Our struggle in the Arab Gulf is an important dimension of the struggle of the Iranian people. The students are the intellectual vanguard of the people, and it is their historic responsibility to articulate the future of our countries. We are asking to form committees to stand in solidarity with and to support the revolution in the Arab Gulf. We are looking forward to your actual contribution to the development of the revolution.

Long live the common struggle of our common peoples, and down with imperialism and its lackeys.

The Executive Committee of the Dhofar Liberation Front

TO THE IRANIAN STUDENTS ASSOCIATION, WASHINGTON, D. C.

STATEMENT OF RICHARD E. RUBENSTEIN
(Associate Professor of Political Science, Roosevelt University, Chairman, Chicago
Committee to Defend the Harrisburg 8)

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

I send you fraternal greetings and best wishes, not only on my own behalf, but on behalf of all individuals and groups in Chicago who fight for justice and liberation.

It is altogether fitting that the United States representative at the Shah's party in Shiraz be Vice-President Spiro Agnew. As the saying goes, "Birds of a feather flock together" - including fascist birds.

But while the enemies of the people are celebrating 2500 years of tyranny at the people's expense, it is even more fitting that lovers of freedom should meet in Washington, D. C. to celebrate the ongoing struggle for international justice.

Friends! Spiro Agnew, thank God, does not represent the American people. The Shah of Iran does not represent the Iranian people. When the party at Persepolis is over, the reactionaries of all nations will discover that it has been a farewell party. This party has been going on for centuries. For centuries, the rich have feasted while the poor have suffered. Now the party is over, and it is the armed people, in Iran and elsewhere, which will clean up the mess and welcome in a new era of peace and justice.

Greetings, friends, and onward with the struggle for freedom!

In solidarity, and in hope,

Richard E. Rubenstein

PRESS STATEMENT FROM AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

2 November, 1971

Embargo Date: 10 November. NOON

IRAN

The International Executive Committee of Amnesty International notes with the utmost regret that, in spite of many promises, the Iranian Government has missed two opportunities for granting an amnesty to its political prisoners. We refer to the October celebrations of the 2,500th anniversary of the foundation of the Persian Empire, and to the Shah's birthday on 26 October, when pardons are usually given.

On the contrary, the attitude of the Government to political imprisonment has hardened. Between 1,000 and 4,000 people were interned before the October celebrations. No official information on political trials has been given to Amnesty International. But from unofficial sources we have received information that a secret trial by military court was held immediately after the close of the October celebrations, in which the Prosecution asked for death sentences on all 37 defendants. Five death sentences were actually passed just before this, also by secret court martial.

No death sentences were passed for political offenses in Iran between 1966 and 1970; but on three occasions in 1971 alone prisoners have been sentenced to death by courts martial sitting in camera. Such an extra-legal procedure can only raise doubts as to the validity of the case against those on trial.

According to other information just received, another secret military trial has resulted in a sentence of eight years' hard labour for Hussein Rezai, previously a student at Mainz University, who was arrested in Tehran in October, 1970, while acting as an interpreter for Dr. H. H. Heldmann, an Amnesty delegate.

Efforts to obtain from the Iranian Government a confirmation or denial of this report have failed. This is in line with the Government's current practice of treating sentences in political trials as confidential, apparently in the hope that such secrecy can prevent public protests.

With respect to the trial of Hussein Rezai, the Amnesty International Executive Committee makes the following statement:

i) After Rezai's arrest, the Iranian Government promised repeatedly that his trial would be public and fair, and that foreign observers would be admitted. These promises have not been kept. Under the circumstances, Amnesty considers that one charge on which the trial was reportedly based, 'that he had unacceptable contacts in Iraq,' has not been proved.

ii) With regard to another charge - that Rezai had been a member of the illegal Confederation of Iranian Students (CISNU), the International Executive Committee points out that this organization was not banned at the time of Rezai's arrest: it was proscribed in January 1971.

In 1968, at Iran's invitation, the United Nations conference for Human Rights Year was held in Tehran. The October anniversary was a fitting time for the Iranian Government to demonstrate in even more practical terms Iran's concern for human rights. Instead, it has been celebrated by mass arrests, military trials and death sentences. Any state must safeguard its visitors, but these are punitive acts far in excess of all legitimate protection. They are made the more abhorrent by being carried out in secrecy, despite the gravity of the sentences.

The International Executive Committee recalls the many discussions between Amnesty and the Iranian authorities in recent years, and the assurances given to Amnesty that there would be a reform of the legal system for those arrested on political charges, and that future political trials would be held in open court in the presence of foreign observers. These new events cast fundamental doubt on such assurances and suggest that the Iranian Government has now set aside its stated intention of treating political prisoners in accordance with the rule of law and the practice of responsible nations.

PRESS RELEASE

San Jose Attorney John Thorne has just returned from Iran where he was sent by the National Lawyers Guild and the League for the Rights of Man, a U.N. affiliate, to observe the trial of 37 political prisoners. To the 37 has now been added forty two political prisoners who were arrested subsequent to the 37, and they are alleged to have cooperated with them. The case was originally to start in November, but ultimately was continued so that it should have started around the 5th of January. "The trials did not start as scheduled," Thorne said, "and, in fact, no one in the Iranian government would give us any kind of a date as to when the proceeding will commence."

The 37, although referred to by the government of Iran as "common criminals," "guerrillas" or "Palestinian revolutionaries," is made up of engineers, lawyers, architects, teachers, students, professors, and other professionals. Thorne indicated he tried to find out from the government and military offices just what charges were brought against the 37, but no one, not even the prosecutor, would state what the charges were. In addition he asked permission to visit any or all of the 37, but that request was also denied. "The law in Iran is such that any case the government wants before the military courts will be there, and under that system no defendant is allowed to talk to any attorney until the trial starts. At that time he is only permitted to have an attorney who comes from a list provided to the defendant by the military. The list contains nothing but military personnel, except in a rare case when a retired military man is on such a list," Thorne said.

Prior to going to Iran we were told that torture is commonly used by the government to extract confessions from persons arrested. In an hour and a half meeting with Prime Minister Hoveyda of Iran, I pointed out certain allegations we had received with regard to the torture of certain individuals. His only response was "we usually don't torture in Iran" Thorne said. Thorne stated that the Prime Minister claimed any citizen of Iran was perfectly free to criticize the government at any time, but when specific cases were called to his attention which seemed to indicate otherwise, the Prime Minister either brushed them off or claimed he knew nothing about the case. "I asked him specifically about Mr. Darioush Forouhar, an attorney and an outspoken critic of the present regime in Iran. I told the Prime Minister the information we had about this man indicated that he has been held in jail since March of 1970 and no charges have been brought against him and he has had no trial. His only response was, 'I have known him for a long time and he is cock-eyed.', Thorne pointed out. The lawyer also indicated that he called to the Prime Minister's attention the case of Mr. Taleghani, a religious leader who headed a large mosque in Teheran and who was placed under arrest and then finally moved to Zabol, a small village on the Pakistan border where he is still

under house arrest and literally without communication. Also the case of Nemat Mirzarza, an Iranian poet who was given a two year sentence for publishing a book and some of his poems, was mentioned, but the Prime Minister merely brushed the cases aside as being unimportant.

During the course of my conversation with the Prime Minister, I asked him if I might set forth the information we had received and certain questions in a letter to which he could then respond. He agreed that he would do this, and I then attempted to have the letter typed through a secretarial service known as "The American Business Center." Their work is done at the National Cash Register Company in Teheran, but when they found out the letter concerned the question of the rights of individuals to a fair trial, they refused to type it, saying that they were afraid the secret police, known as Savak, would have arrested them, Thorne pointed out. Although the Prime Minister knew the letter was coming, and the attorney tried to have it typed at several places offering secretarial services, no one would touch it, and thus he had to bring the dictation back to San Jose in order to have the letters prepared.

Pictures of the Shah, his wife and son, hang in every store and office wherever you go in Iran, Thorne said, and "wherever you go you sense the fear the people have of their government," he added. "I find it tragic that the government of the United States would give so much support to such a dictatorship, but the reason is obvious- Iran is rich in oil and material wealth takes precedence over human rights," Thorne added.

The lawyer was the attorney for the late George Jackson, one of the Soledad Brothers, attended the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal in Stockholm as an observer for the National Lawyers Guild represented Reis Tijerina, the New Mexico Chicago leader, and has been active in civil rights and civil liberties litigation for a number of years. He indicated that he hopes to return to Iran and follow up not only on the case of the 37, but on the "apparently hundreds of cases of a similar nature which allegedly have the jails and prisons in Iran filled."

On Jan. 16, 1972, two days after Mr. Thorn's departure from Iran, an official of the secret police, Savak, in a press conference declared and publically admits not only the arrest of 37, but also the arrest of about 143 other persons for allegedly taking part in anti-state activities. "These types of contradictory statements can only be expected from a police state that does not have the slightest respect for the most basic human rights." Mr. Thorne said.

Prepared by
Mr. Thorne's staff

A P P E A L

After years of preparation and having spent some one hundred million dollars, the Iranian government celebrated its "2500 Years of Persian Monarchy". All during this time, Iranian people, being under tremendous economic and political pressure and deprived of their most basic human rights have expressed their distrust of the policies of the Iranian Government.

Prior to and during the celebration, around 4000 Iranians, mostly intellectuals whose names have not been released, have been arrested.

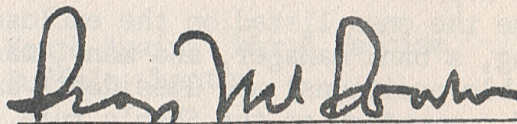
Through the defense activities of the Confederation of Iranian Students and under the pressure of world public opinion, and the Iranian Government has made known the names of 37 of these patriots. They are now faced with military execution.

The situation of another 80 of these patriots, who are under severe torture, is most critical. We the Iranian Students at the University of Washington, are putting forward the following demands concerning the Iranian political prisoners:

- 1) The names and whereabouts of those 80 political prisoners be released
- 2) Instead of undemocratic secret military Tribunals Iranian political prisoners be tried in an open court to the public, based on human rights provision of the United Nations Charter.

We ask all intellectuals and all those people who still have faith in democracy to sign this petition and thus express their protest against these inhuman and undemocratic treatments of the political prisoners.

January 11, 1972


SEN. GEORGE MC GOVERN

January 21, 1972

The Honorable
George E. Danielson
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Mr. Danielson:

On December 15, 1971 you responded to a previous letter of mine complaining that the Government of Iran was engaged in a campaign of repression and asking what our government could do about it (my letter was dated 12 November). With your response you included a letter from Mr. Abshire, from the State Department. I was, to say the least, very disappointed with his letter. It was a stream of apologia from beginning to end. Not only did he deny knowledge of the trials I had referred to, but he implied that any opposition to the Shah comes from a tiny, dissident, terrorist minority. And of course the Shah must round them up (a euphemism for jail and torture?) "as would any governments were in similar circumstances."Perhaps. And perhaps it is the Abshires in the State Department that have so successfully whitewashed the current regime in Greece (with an assist from Spiro Agnew).

The only thing of interest I found in Mr. Abshire's letter was the fact that Iran no longer receives aid from us. It is my impression that we do sell them arms, however. Their ten percent growth rate means little if, as in many developing nations, the wealth does not trickle down to the masses of poor, many of whom are outside the economy. It was true, some years back, that opposition to the Shah declined among Iranian students. They were impressed with his apparent support of real reforms. All that has changed. Opposition is as strong as ever and students returning from visits home bring stories of an informer-ridden police state.

I wanted to reply to Mr. Abshire's letter before this, but I thought it best to wait until the story of the Iranian trials surfaced in the media. Now this has finally happened. Let me again request that you look into this matter and, hopefully find a way to induce our Government to exert what leverage it has with the Shah to change his regime's present repressive course. It is difficult to believe, with Mr. Abshire, that individuals like the ones listed on the enclosed pages (including the Chairman of the Bureau of Housing, a bank manager, and many, many engineers, architects, and others employed in responsible positions) are dissidents and terrorists. If they actually are it is a very sad commentary on the Shah's rule, indeed! Obviously, these Iranian citizens do not share our State Department's view that "Iran has a promising future."

Very sincerely,

Jack G. Levine
Professor of
Electrical Engineering
School of Engineering

February 16, 1972

Prime Minister of Iran
A. Abass Hoveida
Teheran, Iran

Prime Minister Hoveida:

The Buffalo Chapter of Youth Against War & Fascism adamantly opposes the recent arrests and secret trials of Iranian patriots, whose only "crime" has been militant political opposition to the Shah's dictatorship. By exposing the true nature of the Shah's regime, the people of Iran have shown their strong determination to free themselves from the yoke of Imperialism and it's puppet, the Shah!

These arrests and illegal trials are further evidence of the daily repression practiced by the Shah's regime against the Iranian people in their just struggle to control their own lives and their own country.

We unconditionally support the people of Iran in their just struggle for self determination, and stand in solidarity with the Confederation of Iranian Students supporting their demands for:

- 1) IMMEDIATE CANCELLATION OF THE DEATH SENTENCES GIVEN TO SIX PATRIOTS.
- 2) RELEASE OF THE NAMES AND CONDITIONS OF THE 20 ON SECRET TRIAL.
- 3) CONSIDERATION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF THESE BRAVE PATRIOTS WHICH HAVE BEEN CONTINUOUSLY VIOLATED BY THE SHAH'S OPPRESSIVE REGIME

Youth Against War & Fascism
Buffalo Chapter

February 19, 1972

His Excellency
Dr. Amir Asaln Ashar
Ambassador to the United States from Iran
3005 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Ambassador:

We have watched with much concern the response of the government of the Shah to the protest of Iranian students against some of his policies. While we do not take this occasion to comment upon the character of that protest or the issues involved, we feel morally compelled to express our concern over the denial of due process and severe penalties perpetrated upon the dissenters.

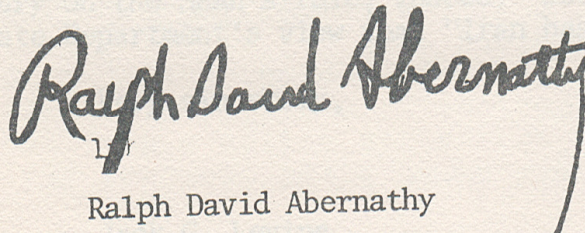
We are disturbed by the manner of arrests by the secret police (The Savak). We are disturbed by the several trials of up to 143 people at one time, mostly in secret, before a military tribunal rather than a civilian court. However we are most disturbed at the severity of the sentences generally and the several sentences to death particularly being imposed upon political dissenters. Ten or more young students stand condemned at this time.

We fail to see how the execution of these sentences, in public or in secret, can command any positive world sentiment or provide any deterrent to the associates of the condemned protesters.....

We therefore call upon the Shah to immediately commute all death sentences thus far pronounced, to provide all those accused of transgressions with new and fair trials comporting with basic notions of due process, and to allow an independent, impartial, and international delegation to observe the entire process including the conditions under which prisoners are held.

Please convey our appeal to the Shah immediately.

Most sincerely,


Ralph David Abernathy

RDA/dac

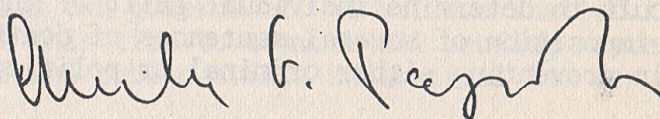
STATEMENT OF SUPPORT TO ISAUS

from

THE PAN HELLENIC LIBERATION MOVEMENT

February 24, 1972

The Pan Hellenic Liberation Movement which has committed itself to the Liberation of Greece from the economic-military imperialism, represented in Greece by a neo-colonial military dictatorship, expresses its solidarity to the Iranian people who also struggle against a similar oppressor and fully supports your actions, particularly the hunger strike of the Confederation of Iranian Students in defense of the just struggle of the Iranian patriots who are now facing brutal execution by the oppressive regime of the Shah.



Andreas Papandreou

February 24, 1972

His Excellency
Dr. A. Aslan Afshar
Ambassador of Iran
3005 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20008

My dear Mr. Ambassador:

.....American press coverage indicate that over 100 Iranians arrested during the National birthday celebration are being tried in military courts by martial law. For the most part their trials appear to be secret.

The defendants were protesting policies of the present Government of Iran. This letter is not meant as a comment on that policy, or as a comment on the methods of protest. Rather I am concerned about the apparent denial of Internationally recognized rights of judicial procedure and about the role of the Secret Police, i.e., the Savak, in the arrests. I am concerned about the "mass trial" aura which makes it extremely difficult to determine individual guilt or innocence. I am particularly disturbed by the imposition of several sentences of death. Such sentences serve no useful function in preventing either criminal or political activities.

I respectfully request, therefore, that the Shah commute all sentences of death already imposed, and that an impartial international delegation of legal experts be permitted to witness all future judicial proceedings.

Thanking you for your assistance, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Parren J. Mitchell,
Member of Congress

PJM:CP;gh

February 25, 1972

Honorable William P. Rogers
Secretary of State
U. S. Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I wish to express my deepest concern over the recent actions of the Iranian government regarding the arrests of protesting Iranian students.

I specifically refer to press accounts concerning the private executions of five of these students, the pending execution of ten others, and the trials of numerous others which have been conducted in private and under martial rather than civilian procedures.

It is a most disturbing situation that the civil rights of Iranian citizens should be placed in jeopardy by its own government. I believe that it is the obligation of the government of Iran at this time to commute all pending sentences of death and to make preparations for fair and public trials under civil law for all those accused.

I call upon you at this time to use your good offices in helping to resolve this tragic and deplorable situation.

Sincerely,

SHIRLEY CHISHOLM
Member of Congress

February 28, 1972

H. E. Amir Abbas Hoveyda
Prime Minister
Tehran, Iran

Your Excellency:

As a Member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the United States House of Representatives, I am quite disturbed by recent press accounts dealing with the fate of over one hundred intellectual dissenters in Iran.

I am concerned about news reports noting short trials and resulting death sentences given ten Iranian Intellectuals by military tribunals. In addition, I am concerned about the health of over one hundred Iranian students who have gone on unlimited hunger strikes in Washington and in Paris.

I would hope that the press accounts are not true and that the Government of Iran has not begun such oppressive policies and practices. I hope that you could provide me with information pertaining to these cases and these press accounts.

Sincerely,

Ronald V. Dellums
Member of Congress

AN OPEN LETTER

7th March 1972

Prime Minister Hoveyda
Teheran, Iran

Dear Sir:

We have been closely following the political situation in Iran, and we have been in touch with the Confederation of Iranian Students.

We have been particularly concerned about the cases of some 143 Iranian intellectuals who are presently being tried in Iran for their opposition to the Shah. These people are being tried in military courts despite the basic guarantee of your country's Constitution of a civil trial in political cases.

Although the trials are "open", the world press has clearly reported that few individuals attend for fear of reprisals by the Savak. The handling of these trials of political prisoners by your government clearly shows the complete lack of basic human rights in Iran.

Ten patriots have so far been executed by your government. According to your own reports only two of the condemned prisoners had appeal trials. One of them, Mr. Gholamreza Kalvi had been sentenced to life imprisonment and was nevertheless executed.

We believe that the struggle to free political prisoners is international in scope, and we feel compelled to express our concern. We condemn this treatment of political prisoners by your government, and we pledge every effort in defense of the 20,000 Iranian political prisoners.

Very sincerely yours,

Angela Y. Davis

Angela Y. Davis
National United Committee
to Free Angela Davis and All Political Prisoners

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*DECEASED

**Amnesty International****U.S. AFFILIATE**

200 WEST 72ND STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10023
AREA CODE (212) 724-9907

**His Excellency
Dr. Amir Asslm Ashar
Ambassador to the United States from Iran
30005 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008**

Your Excellency:

We are advised that the death sentence has been passed on the following 10 persons whose sentencing was reported in Le Monde of February 17, 1972.

Amnesty International opposes the death sentence for political offenses. We urge the sentences to be commuted.

**Mark E. Benenson
Chairman
Amnesty International-USA**

1. Nasser Sndegh
2. Massoud Rajavi
3. Hamid Tavakoly
4. Majid Ahmadzadeh
5. Massoud Ahmadzadeh
6. M. Fazargan
7. Ali Mihar doost
8. Abass Meftahi
9. Assad Meftahi
10. Sayed Aryan

In consultative status with the UNITED NATIONS and the COUNCIL OF EUROPE

IRAN IN US NEWS

The future of the Middle East, particularly Iran, is at stake. The international press is directing more and more attention to the highly volatile situation there. The gravity of the situation there has forced even the American press to publish more on the Middle East and the growing unrest in Iran. The following are excerpts from the Press regarding Iran. (The CIS does not necessarily agree with all points of views expressed in the following excerpts)

Information About Iran

Guerrillas, Police Clash In Tehran

TEHRAN, Iran, Oct. 6 (AP) —A new flareup of rebel violence was reported by the Iranian government today as it went ahead with preparations for the 2,500th anniversary of Iranian monarchy and the visit of dozens of foreign leaders.

In Tehran streets, gaily decorated for the celebrations, police fought a running gun battle yesterday with three men described in a government announcement as "insurgents."

It was the latest of several shootouts dating to February between security forces and a leftist guerrilla group.

The government reported one policeman and one of the rebel gunmen were killed and seven civilians wounded in the clash two miles from the center of the city.

Washington Post
Oct. 10, 1971

Though two-thirds of the country's 30 million people still live in villages, Teheran, the capital, has become a bustling city of 3,000,000, with traffic even scarier than Tokyo's.

► Democracy is less advanced. Iran has political parties and elections, but the Shah appoints half the members of the Senate and makes all the important decisions. The press is firmly controlled, and criticism of the Shah is wholly forbidden. For the celebrations, the army clamped tight security around a 60-mile circumference of the tent city and, by ironic coincidence, arrested exactly 2,500 potential troublemakers. Iran's security police, SAVAK, tracked each VIP electronically via a small radio transmitter carried by an aide of the guest.

there is something disturbing about SAVAK'S heavy-handed censorship of theater and culture in general.

he feels Iran must assume major defense responsibilities in the area.

Iran will be a major Middle East military power in five years.

Although no official statistics are published on total foreign debts, estimates suggest that Iran owes more than \$3 billion in medium-term loans, equivalent to well over a year's foreign exchange earnings.

Time Magazine
Oct. 25, 1971

The Shah's sensitivity to public opinion is marginal.

Few of his enemies or friends believe that he is capable of changing his character even in the next 10 years.

In the process he has grown to have little time for the trappings of parliamentary democracy, party politics or civil rights such as freedom of the press or protection from arbitrary arrest.

The Once and Future Shah

[HOLDING THE NORTHERN TIER]

“It would be a mistake to view these ceremonies as simple flights of his majesty’s megalomaniac fantasy... they form an integral part of his oppression of the Iranian people.”

DURING THE WEEK of October 12-17 Iran celebrates 2500 years of monarchy. Planning began 10 years ago and millions of dollars have been spent on the five days of festivities. Iranian Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi is inviting nearly 70 monarchs and heads of state to a special celebration at the ancient capital of Persepolis in the south Iranian desert. A festival village has been built for the occasion: Maxim’s of Paris has been given the catering concession, and pipes have been laid over tens of miles to bring water to this long-deserted zone. The Shah will be host to the monarchs of eight European countries, to the Emperor of Japan, to Presidents Nixon and Podgorny and to the butcher kings of Jordan, Morocco, Saudi Arabia and Ethiopia.

There is little new in this form of celebration. In 1967 the Shah crowned himself (25 years late) as monarch of Iran, King of Kings and Sun of the Aryans; then he lavished millions on new crowns for himself and his wife and on a bejewelled 18th century carriage made in Vienna by the former coachmakers to the Hapsburg emperors. It would be a mistake, however, to view these ceremonies as simple flights of his majesty’s megalomaniac fantasy, for they form an integral part of his oppression of the Iranian people. The regime is saturated with bogus ceremony and suffocating monarchist cant which is rammed down the throats of schoolchildren and diffused incessantly through the press and media. His dynasty rests on such forms of mystification.

The Shah’s father, Reza Khan, was a cavalry officer who came to power in a military coup in 1921. He first abolished the monarchy and then made himself king four years later. To boost his shaky regime, he cooked up an artificial Iranian ideology, based on the alleged continuity of Iran’s monarchy from the days of the classical pre-Muslim rulers like Cyrus and Cambyses through to the present day. In fact, however, Iran has not experienced 2500 years of monarchy: in between the Arab conquests in the 7th century A.D. and the emergence of the Safavid monarchy in the 16th century, Iran was without a national sovereign. To obliterate this gap, Reza Khan and his son have fabricated a connection: pseudo-classical architecture and designs have been invented; the dynasty calls itself Pahlavi after a language of the classical period; and an anomalous system of months and years has been brought in which is distinct from both the Muslim system found in the rest of the Middle East and from the Christian system found in the western world.

The Shah takes great pains to sustain his monarchist image at home. No criticism is allowed in Iran and ministers who become too popular get booted out. His official picture hangs everywhere.

He takes equal care to enhance his image abroad: at one level this involves planting drivelling gossip in women’s magazines about the beauty and loyalty of his wives (Soraya and now Farah); such articles tend to stress the Shah’s happy mixture of fatherly love for his children and paternal care for his people. At a more serious level, he has waged a systematic campaign to attract foreign capital to Iran, stressing its “political stability” and the favorable conditions that investors will find there. (Iranians abroad who challenge this benevolent image are rooted out; secret police agents infiltrate opposition groups and the families of dissidents are pressured at home. In Germany, Britain and the U.S., where the 20,000 exile student community is concentrated, threats and assaults on militants are common.)

IN HIS OWN WAY THE SHAH is quite correct in stressing Iran’s “stability.” In recent years it has been one of the most reliable western allies in the third world, and one of the soundest areas for economic investment. But this marks a clear break with previous periods. The Second World War threw Iran into an economic crisis: inflation, shortages, and the rise of a communist movement, represented by the *Tudeh* (Masses) party, weakened the fragile state Reza had built, and in the post-war period Iran was locked in political struggles. The most popular leader to emerge in this period was Mohammed Mosadegh, an eloquent nationalist who challenged the Shah’s political power and called for the nationalization of Iranian oil. In 1951, Mosadegh, as Prime Minister, was able to outflank the pro-British elements in the regime and nationalize the oil. But he was in a weak position: he was backed not by an organized party, but by a group of parliamentary deputies together with an unreliable mass following in the streets. The *Tudeh* and its patron, the Soviet Union, vacillated in their support of Mosadegh. In addition, the international oil cartel enforced a nearly total boycott of Iranian oil, thus depriving Iran of its main source of income, and causing an economic crisis that lost Mosadegh considerable popularity.

At the same time Mosadegh’s enemies were hard at work on other fronts. Traditionally the Shah had relied on the British, who were well versed in meddling in Iran. But in the oil crisis of the 1950s the Shah turned to the U.S. Inflamed with anti-communist fervor, the U.S. regarded Iran as a bulwark in the Middle East, part of the “northern tier” that stretched from Turkey to Afghanistan and Pakistan. A nationalist or communist victory there would have been a blow to this containment policy. So, as the Shah’s position worsened in 1952 and 1953, the U.S., through an old-time Middle East hand, Kermit Roosevelt, built contacts with the Shah and with the ex-Nazi army chief, General Zahedi. In the summer of 1953 the clash between Mosadegh and the Shah came to a head: as the Shah fled to Rome

in apparent disarray, Zahedi and his forces entered Tehran on August 19 and toppled Mosaddegh's regime.

In an age when every event in the third world is attributed to the ubiquitous CIA, it must be emphasized that the August 19, 1953 coup in Iran was indeed clearly financed, organized and carried out by CIA agents—to a degree found perhaps in only one other case, the anti-Arbenz group in Guatemala a year later. CIA-head Allen Dulles, Roosevelt, U.S. Ambassador to Iran Loy Henderson and New Jersey police chief Norman Schwartzkopf met the Shah's sister in Switzerland on August 10; on August 15 the Shah made his fake exit; and on August 19 the coup occurred.

The Shah was not slow to reward the U.S. Under the renegotiated oil agreement of 1954, five U.S. companies got a 40 percent share [8 percent each for Gulf, Socony-Vacuum, Standard (N.J.), Standard (Calif.) and Texaco] in the exploitation of Iranian oil, previously the sole preserve of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (now British Petroleum). The U.S. proceeded to help the Shah build up his secret police, SAVAK, and poured \$900 million in defense and economic aid into Iran between 1953 and 1960. In 1955 Iran joined the Baghdad Pact, the Middle East version of SEATO, which Dulles set up to contain "communism" in the area.

[THE WHITE REVOLUTION]

UP TO 1961, HOWEVER, the situation in Iran remained "unstable." Despite savage repression, mass executions of opponents and air attacks on dissident tribes, opposition to the Shah was active and prolonged. A permanent State Department committee, the "Iran Task Force," watched anxiously for the moment when the sturdy little monarch might fall. Then, in 1961, the Shah launched a series of economic reforms which, though cloaked in the false and misleading ideological covering of popular, democratic, progressive changes, nonetheless have profoundly altered Iranian society. Financed by oil revenues and foreign aid, the new economic policies permitted rapid capitalist development of Iran. As a result,

Iran stands second only to Japan as the most economically successful non-socialist country in Asia.

The first step in the new program was land reform: Iran's 50,000 villages were owned by a small group of feudal families, many of whom owned villages the size of Holland or Belgium. In the period 1962-64 the Shah limited ownership to one village per owner, and then later introduced capitalist rents and some actual distribution to alter the hold of the old landowners. But, despite the accompanying democratic and populist rhetoric, the reforms for the most part merely confirmed existing inequalities: sharecroppers simply became renters and over 60 percent of the peasantry remained landless. While agricultural "efficiency" increased, those peasants who did receive grants of land were those who already had been relatively prosperous under the previous system. In 1957, at the end of the second phase of the land reform, 786,715 peasants had become *owners*, but nearly twice that number, 1,223,968, had become *leaseholders*. The most outrageous and inefficient pre-capitalist landowners were restricted, but landowners who had "mechanized" their lands were exempt—so any landlord with a rusty old tractor was able to claim mechanization and increase his extraction of the surplus by slapping up the rents.

The Shah has claimed that the land reform was inspired by his admiration for the Kennedy administration and by his love for his people. In fact, however, it was inspired by the reverse: the people's hatred for the Shah. The reforms have aimed to speed up the capitalist development of Iran to stave off growing popular dissatisfaction. This was well expressed by the initial agent of the White Revolution, Ali Amini, the Shah's Prime Minister in 1961: "We must not allow the people's anger to rise," he said. "It would sweep us all away, the Shah and the Aminis." What the reforms have accomplished has been the removal of the most glaring feudal inequalities in the countryside, and the creation of the bases for the development of a prosperous class of capitalist farmers on whom the regime can rely both politically and economically. Yet the rural changes have

proceeded very precariously: agrarian production has been falling behind the growth of population—in 1969 it rose by only 1.7 percent while the population rose by 3.2 percent. While at least 45 percent of the population is engaged in agriculture, that sector accounts for less than 25 percent of GNP (and non-official observers reckon it to make up only 16 percent). Moreover, a significant proportion of the landless peasantry has been moving into the towns to swell the growing ranks of urban unemployed. Despite real changes, the figures and claims made by the regime are both false and misleading.

* * *

THE SHAH ALSO CLAIMS TO BE succeeding in industrializing the country through use of growing oil revenues. But while it is true that Iran has had a growth rate of around 10 percent in the past four years, industry accounts for only 10 percent of GNP, whereas services, the fastest growing sector, represents over 40 percent. This growing services sector caters to the occidental consumption habits of the bourgeoisie and to the tens of thousands of foreigners who have flocked to Tehran in recent years to suck the oil boom. Several factors have contributed to this rather modest growth in the industrial sector. Many projects have been misplanned and badly run: the two largest projects, the gas trunkline to Russia and the Sahrur petro-chemicals plant, have both cost more than double the original \$500 million allocation. More serious, however, is the fact that industrial development has been accompanied by a growing intervention by European capital in the Iranian economy outside of the oil sector. Iran has openly invited this participation and a special Center for the Attraction and Protection of Foreign Industries (CAPFI) operates under the auspices of the Central Bank. The U.S. is the leading foreign exploiter in this field: of the 119 foreign companies operating in Iran in April 1971, 32 were American, 18 West German and 14 British; but of the total \$350 million invested by foreign firms up to mid-1970, \$215 million came from U.S. firms. It is here that the size of the

services sector is explained: the surplus from the oil sector is sucked out by foreign firms providing services for the Iranian middle classes. In 1965-68 over 30 percent of the amount invested in Iran through CAPFI left the country as capital outflow to foreign firms.

But the surplus is sent back to the U.S. and Europe in another vital way which benefits imperialism politically as well as financially. In 1972 Iran will devote more than a third of her budget (\$895 million) to military expenditures. Up to 1961 the Shah's army was funded by the U.S. for a uniquely internal role—suppressing the people. Since that time Iran has come to play an international role in the Mideast as a guardian of "stability" in the Gulf area and as a counterweight to Iraq and other leftist regimes. At 160,000 strong, the Iranian army is by far the largest in the Gulf area. The only official figure for current U.S. expenditures in this area is a \$950,000 request to Congress to train the 250-man U.S. Military Advisory Mission in Iran; but the U.S. Export-Import Bank has provided \$120 million in credit for arms, and another \$100 million in loans for the purchase of 135 Phantoms which the Shah is using to re-equip his air force.

[BENEATH THE WESTERN FACADE]

THE MIDDLE CLASS CREATED by the Shah's economic reforms is made up of the 500,000 or so state officials together with a growing number of private businessmen—mainly agents of large western firms. Despite the rhetoric about Iran's millennia of culture, this bourgeoisie is densely permeated by the most decadent and superficial aspects of western society. It is clear from the shops along Ferdousi Avenue in Tehran or in the city's northern residential suburbs that western consumption habits are popular, and a growing number of Iranians take their holidays abroad. Moreover, Iranians are culturally quite distinct from the Arabs and Turks—whom they usually despise—and are more confident *vis-à-vis* the West than many other Asian bourgeoisies. But traditional forms of repression survive beneath this superficial westernization, and actually have been accentuated by

the frustration that western consumer habits have created. While Iranian girls wear miniskirts and read the slick U.S. news magazines, they nonetheless remain terrorized by a rampaging sexism which permeates every aspect of their lives. Sexism is deployed and enforced through education, gossip, fear and by the jealous and active interference of mothers, aunts, fathers and elder brothers who humiliate and crush their female relatives until such time as they can be handed on to husbands, physically intact although often mentally shattered. Tehran has a rapidly expanding prostitution racket, centered in the south Tehran zone known as New City but flanked by an elaborate system of call-girls. This apparently unshaken oppression of Iranian women lies behind much of the so-called westernization. And, while women are the victims of this ultra-sexist environment, men remain trapped within it by the ideology of *javanmard* (Iranian machismo).

The most horrendous aspect of the Shah's regime, however, is the political repression on which it rests. A vigorous and sustained opposition has come from the left ever since the overthrow of Mosadegh in 1953, and the Shah has built up the SAVAK, the secret police, to crush it. SAVAK is believed to number some 60,000 men and its buildings are well known, if not officially designated, in Tehran. The present five-year plan includes an allocation of \$6.7 million for the construction of 84 new SAVAK buildings and a new detention center for political prisoners. There have been endless show trials, detentions, murders and executions of the left in the past 18 years. Amnesty International estimates that there are over 2,000 political detainees in Iran at the moment. However, the number is probably much higher as, both in the cities and in the countryside, many people disappear without trace. In the 1950s, left-wing organizations in the army and the university were rooted out and Mosadegh's National Front was suppressed. Since that time, the opposition's organization has fragmented, yet at the same time there has been an eternal effervescence with new groups springing up inside and outside Iran. Abroad, the Confederation of Iranian

Students has kept up a constant campaign against the Shah.

In 1971 a new wave of opposition, led by militants who first came into politics in the 1960s, has surfaced. The militants revere Mosadegh, viewing him as an inspiration and a symbol, not to be criticized; yet their political formation has been influenced by Vietnam and Palestine. In February there was a three-day battle in the jungle near the Caspian Sea between guerrillas and government forces, and police stations in different parts of the country have been attacked. Last November urban guerrillas came close to kidnapping the U.S. Ambassador, Douglas MacArthur II; in April of this year they succeeded in gunning down General Farsi, the chief military judge in the trials of opposition cadres. There also have been strikes in Tehran for the first time in several years, and in May government forces shot three workers at Karaj, just north of Tehran. These outbreaks are sporadic and uncoordinated, but they show the growth of a new opposition born of the specific conditions created by the White Revolution.

* * *

IN APRIL 500 STUDENTS in Tehran were arrested for protesting the millions of dollars the Shah is wasting on a gross spectacle designed to manipulate the people. The Shah and his guests will be celebrating nothing less than the continued pillage of Iran by foreign imperialists and by the Iranian ruling class. No doubt the world's press will turn out the standard sentimental material about the Shah. Yet the real voice of Iran is not that of the Shah with his megalomaniac festivities and his faked history: it is that of Paknejad and his comrades, now imprisoned with thousands of others in the dungeons of SAVAK. 2500 years of "monarchy" is 2500 years of oppression. Far from celebrating this, they want to bring it to an end.

Fred Halliday is an editor of the British monthly New Left Review. He is a frequent contributor to RAMPARTS, specializing in the politics of the Middle East.

Nov. 1971

Fun In The Sand

2500 YEAR CELEBRATION

Washington Daily News
Oct. 16, 1971
THE SHAH'S PARTY

We think Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the 18th century French philosopher, first told the story about "a great princess, who, on being informed that the country people had no bread, replied, 'Let them eat cake.'"

In time, the saying was attributed to Marie Antoinette. Altho she didn't say it, her brainless extravagance was such that she could have. And as a result, during the French Revolution she, as they say today, got it in the neck.

These thoughts are brought to mind by the vain, pompous, vulgar show of wealth the shah of Iran is putting on at Persepolis for a clutch of emperors, kings, princes, presidents, sheikhs, sultans, vice-presidents, premiers, foreign ministers, diplomats, socialites, "beautiful people" and other free-loaders.

The ostensible reason for the week-long celebration is to mark the 2,500th anniversary of the founding of the Persian empire by Cyrus the Great. The real reason is for the Shah to show what a great ruler he is and how powerful Iran is under his direction.

To be fair, Empress Farah hasn't said of starving Iranian peasants, "Let them eat caviar." But she is looking a bit peaked

and round-shouldered from carting around all those diamonds, and the tone of the party is very Marie Antoinette.

The world's most expensive decorator (French, of course) has erected an air-conditioned tent city, made of cloth of gold, to house the visiting high-and-mighty. Maxims of Paris is stuffing them with partridge foie gras, and the whole spectacle is reported to be costing \$100 million.

There is something indecent, we think, in squandering that much money on self-glory in a country where the average income is \$350 a year, where disease and illiteracy are not under control.

If Iran is so rich, why does it need hand-outs of powdered milk from the United Nations? Why is every third child admitted to Teheran hospitals suffering from malnutrition? And if the shah, a devout Moslem, doesn't know what to do with his money, why doesn't he share some with his coreligionists in Bengal, who face death from famine by the hundreds of thousands?

Some of the twittering society writers, their judgment possibly addled by too much sunshine and free champagne, are calling the gathering at Persepolis "the party of the century." It's more like the shame of the century.

IRAN'S BIRTHDAY PARTY

Newsweek
Oct. 25, 1971

By Loren Jenkins

It was a mixture of pomp and pomposity, of regal splendor and petty carping. With a cast of thousands and a cost of millions, it was ballyhooed around the world as the biggest birthday party of all time. Thrown by Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlevi of Iran, the celebration marked the founding of the Persian Empire in 539 B.C. Technically, for a 2,500th anniversary, the party was ten years late. And when it did get under way amid the ruins of ancient Persepolis last week, everything about the fete was somehow a little overblown or a little underdone. Like so many other long-awaited extravaganzas, it didn't quite live up to its advance billing.

The Shah not only sought to commemorate Persia's centuries of history but he also dreamed of luring virtually all the leaders of the globe to his side and mediating their problems. You just weren't important if you weren't invited; but you couldn't have been that important if you actually showed up. Richard Nixon stayed away as did President Georges Pompidou of France; Britain's Queen Elizabeth II and Emperor Hirohito of Japan sent regrets, and no one from the People's Republic of China came except the ambassador to Teheran. True, such world figures as Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, Russia's President Nikolai Podgorny and Yugoslavia's Josip Broz Tito arrived as promised. But while the Iranians boasted about entertaining nine kings, five queens and 21 princes or princesses, they were in the main such celebrities as King Motlotlehi Moshoeshe II of Lesotho, King Mahendra of Nepal, Prince Makhosini Dlamini of Swaziland and various Arab sheiks. "There are a lot of titles," acknowledged one observer, "but unfortunately few of these are the movers and shakers of world government whom the Shah wanted."

Even for those crowned heads and national leaders who did come to the party, there were moments of frustration and annoyance. Assorted Persian Gulf sheiks fumed when they learned that Vice President Spiro Agnew had been flown by helicopter from Shiraz to Persepolis (an honor theoretically reserved for heads of state) while they had to

drive through the desert in Mercedes limousines. Maximilien Cardinali de Furstenberg, representing the Vatican, flew into a most unholy rage when originally told he would not be given one of the 50 air-conditioned tents reserved for the *crème de la crème*. The cardinal finally did get his tent, but Kai-Uwe von Hassel, president of the West German Bundesrat, lost his to a Princess of Afghanistan and had to stay in a hotel filled with plebeians. And virtually everyone who attended the lavish grand banquet was helplessly confused about where to stand and whom they could address. Few, however, were as candid about it as Denmark's King Frederick who paused for a moment and then barked: "Does anyone know where the hell I have to go?"

Chaos: Indeed, there were times when it seemed that all the little things had to go wrong. At arrival ceremonies, the South Korean flag was flown upside down, and an Iranian major was felled by a flying Persian carpet snapped into the air by exhaust from a Bulgarian jet. Later, King Frederick literally cracked heads with King Constantine of Greece when they both tried to pick up a fallen bouquet of roses. In Persepolis itself, there were myriad complaints of malfunctioning telephones and toilets (cutely marked with a pink rose for the ladies and a cigar for the men). Next came a moment of panic when 100 potted banana trees in the banquet hall abruptly died after being yanked out of their pots by security guards looking for bombs. And when, to top it all, the silverware for the banquet ran short, one exhausted French waiter moaned, "*C'est la pagaille totale*"—"This is total chaos."

To be sure, there were moments of genuine splendor and pageantry, particularly the formal banquet, where the 500 ranking guests dined as few people ever have or will: quail eggs stuffed with Iran's golden caviar, crayfish mousse, saddle of lamb with truffles, champagne sherbet and peacock. (Not everyone got caviar, however; the Shah, who loathes it, ate an artichoke.) As one bemused French caterer told me: "When Marie Antoinette said, 'Let them eat cake,' she never could have dreamed of this per-

formance." Perhaps understandably, one of the items provided in every guest tent was a large bottle of Alka Seltzer.

But somehow, even the moments of glory had a taint to them. Detractors asked why—if the purpose of the celebration was to sing the praises of Iran—the Shah imported virtually everything from Europe: food, furnishings, china and crystal, even the entire tent city itself. The Shah's wife, Empress Farah, had argued that at least the décor should be Iranian, but the only concession to local industry was an occasional Persian rug plopped over the French carpeting. Not that the imported trappings were a hit; the unharmonious blend of imitation Louis XV and plastic modern caused one society-page writer to moan, "My God, this is the ultimate in kitsch, the absolute worst in bourgeois French taste." And more serious critics found it staggering that the Shah would spend \$11 million of his country's money on food and liquor for some of the wealthiest people in the world when poverty and starvation still exist in Iran. "The conspicuous consumption of this thing," remarked one diplomat, "is simply shocking in a country such as this."

Strides: Livid at such criticism, the Shah replied, "What am I supposed to feed these leaders, bread and radishes?" He went on to point out the progress Iran has made in recent years, and to insist that the roads, hotels and other structures built for the celebration will pull in millions of future tourist dollars. No serious critic argues that the Shah has been blind to his people's needs. To the contrary, it is recognized that he personally has led Iran to relative prosperity since his "white revolution" of 1963 (NEWSWEEK, Oct. 11) and has genuinely improved the lot of the common people. "There is no denying Iran's giant strides in economic and social fields," said a diplomat stationed in Teheran. "But, still, on the very road those dignitaries took out of Shiraz, a wall has been built to block the view of a slum; tribes of impoverished peasants have been uprooted for security reasons, and villages whitewashed to look quaint instead of grubby. They still have too far to go to afford such a wasteful extravaganza as this pageant."

PERSEPOLIS — (Iran) — (UPI) — Iran all but sealed a tent city off from the rest of the country today to protect heads of states and royalty arriving for celebrations marking the 2500th anniversary of the Persian empire.

Paratroopers with submachine guns ringed the village of tents erected in a man-made oasis in the shadow of the famous archaeological ruin of Persepolis.

Guerrillas

Officials refused even to name the distinguished guests arriving for the Shah of Iran's great banquet Thursday until they were safely on the ground at Shiraz airport, 40 miles from here, and en route to the tent city.

Oct. 13, 1971

Urban guerrillas have threatened to disrupt the celebrations.

On the road from Shiraz, there were roadblocks that grew more frequent the closer to Persepolis. The last four checkpoints are bunched within two miles of the tent village which was opened briefly to the press Tuesday.

People are still talking about the stag dinner the shah gave last winter to which some 200 wealthy Iranians were invited. When they were toasted for being so generous they realized that they were being hit for between \$70,000 or \$80,000 each.

One man it seems—who had the foresight not to show up—was visited by a palace car the next day and was relieved of some \$70,000 himself.

All this, points out one Iranian intellectual, when the world food program of the Food and Agriculture Organization and the UN are having to supply 80,000 Iranian mothers, parents and children with powdered milk over a five-year period because one-third of the children admitted to Tehran hospitals are suffering from malnutrition. And a local press official confirmed that most of the money to pay for the celebration was coming from the national budget and not the imperial court.

"Our money rationalization is getting feverish, and the latest answer to criticism is that the province of Fars which includes Persepolis has had such terrible droughts that the celebration will help the sagging economy," he said.

October 11, 1971

San Francisco Examiner

October 11, 1971

Jansen, put out extensive press releases on every detail of the celebration, has been forbidden to allow any releases which actually spell out the cost to appear in Iran and the government-censored press

CIS RESPONDS

Iranian Militants March



Iranian students demonstrate near bombed-out consulate, protesting Shah's lavish celebration

—Examiner photo

Brown Bags on Heads

San Francisco Examiner
October 16, 1971



IRANIAN EMIGRES IN MASKED PROTESTS AGAINST SHAH'S REGIME

Marchers appeared at Federal Building and near consulate here

—Examiner photo by Gordon Stone

On Washington Street it was not Iranian history but what almost turned into Iranian tragedy which occupied investigators as they checked for clues to the consulate bombing here.

And while they searched the wreckage they could hear — a block away — the familiar war cries like "down with U.S. imperialism," "the Shah is a U.S. puppet," and "death to the shah."

A crowd of Iranian students and sympathizers were once more making their point near the Iranian consulate and at their head they carried a banner reading "a hungry nation does not need a 2500-year celebration."

A crowd of more than 300 marched from a rally, held outside the Federal Building, to the consulate. The march had been organized before the bombing took place and a

spokesman for the march, Mohammad Mobarez, a graduate student from Berkeley, denied they had any connection with the bombing.

The demonstrators, who were well controlled by their own marshals, remained entirely peaceful, while a watchful Tac Squad would not allow the marchers nearer than a block from the consulate.

Although one speaker called the celebrations in Iran an "extravagant orgy" no one mentioned the fact that the consulate they were aiming for was only just barely in one piece.

After about an hour the demonstrators, still wearing brown paper bags on their heads, to protect them, they said, from Iranian secret police, dispersed. They left eight glass trucks, doing a thriving business, replacing the broken windows along Washington Street.

San Francisco Examiner
October 16, 1971

Blast At SF Iranian Consulate

Explosion Rips Iran Consulate

SAN FRANCISCO (UPI) — A bomb ripped through the Iranian Consulate late last night, causing extensive damage to the building and blowing out several windows in the area.

San Francisco Chronicle ★★★ Sat., Oct. 16, 1971

Protesters Follow the Bombing

Some 275 youthful demonstrators, shouting "Death to the Shah," yesterday afternoon marched to within a block of the Iranian consulate at 3400 Washington street, scene of a Thursday night bomb attack.

The protesters, most of them wearing paper cowls to conceal their identity, were loud but non-violent in their two-hour walk from the Federal Building on Golden Gate avenue to the consular offices.

BANQUET

A spokesman for the protesters, a cowed Iranian national wearing mirror sunglasses, said the march was part of an international demonstration against the Shah of Iran's sumptuous banquet

of the century.

The demonstration spokesman, a member of the Confederation of Iranian students, said the protest had been planned for at least two weeks and was not prompted by or tied in with the bombing.

"I have no idea who planted it," he said. "I don't know anything about it. Our work is political — to expose the regime and a celebration that gives the illusory and mythical image of stability."

POWER

The demonstrators said they were protesting a fascist Iranian government, propped up by American imperialism, that has interred 20,000 to 25,000 political prisoners since it came to power in 1953.

Their march was preceded by two vehicles — a van bus sporting a bemedaled Shah dummy being blessed by a hand of the American Central Intelligence Agency and a pick-up truck carrying dummy student prisoners being shot by a government firing squad.

SAN FRANCISCO (AP) - A radio station said today it received a letter claiming responsibility for the bombing of the Iranian Consulate, signed by the "Sam Melville Squadron of the Revolutionary Army."

The special delivery letter, postmarked Saturday in San Francisco, was delivered to station KSAN four days after the explosion did \$300,000 damage to the consulate, said Peter Laufer, assistant news director.

OCT. 22-28, 1971 BERKELEY BARB

To The PEOPLE

wherever sPiro' the Hog goes,
the prisons are full of thousands
of revolutionary people. This time
it is Iran, where many more
political prisoners have been
placed in torture camps so The
shah can Throw a \$300 million
party for the world bourgeoisie.
APPARENTLY THESE INSANE PIGS
EXPECT THE WORLD'S PEOPLE TO STAND BY
WHILE THEY DRINK OUR BLOOD IN THEIR
SAND CASTLES • BULLSHIT !

we have bombed the Iranian
consulate in san francisco to make
clear our determination to defend
the people and attack the pigs.

we know that the only way to halt
the flow of money and arms to Iran
and all other fascist regimes fronting
for us imperialism is to
make revolution here in
babylon

WE DEDICATE THIS BOMB TO ALL
THE PRISONERS IN THE TORTURE
CAMPS OF THE WARDEN SHAH
OF IRAN

WE WILL BE FREE

sam melville Squadron

Revolutionary Army

not our bomb

ISAUS Statement

iranian student association

Concerning the recent bombing that took place on Thursday, Oct. 14, 1971 at the Iranian Consulate located on 3400 Washington St., San Francisco, the Iranian Student Association in the US (ISAUS) hereby wishes to make its position known on this matter. The ISAUS vehemently denies any connection with the recent bombing; it has never advocated nor participated in such acts and will not do so in the future.

The Council General of Iran, Parviz Adle, "...has said he was positive the bombing was the work of student radicals who have demonstrated against the consulate the past two years." (San Francisco Chronicle, Oct. 17, 1971.) The ISAUS has, in the past years organized demonstrations in front of the Iranian Consulate to express opposition to the Shah's dictatorial regime in Iran.

The present accusation of the Council General (who is a well known SAVAK agent) is part of a world wide repressive policy of the Shah's regime against the Confederation of the Iranian Students

(CIS,NU the only democratic organization of the Iranian Students abroad) is an effort to wipe out any opposition to its suppressive dictatorial rule. In the past year alone, it has rendered illegal this democratic and lawful organization and has subjected its members to 3-10 (three to ten) years in jail on their return home. The regime has also sentenced some members of the Confederation to 3-15 years of prison in Iran. It also refuses to extend the passports of the 41.

The ISAUS is making all necessary preparations to take legal actions against incriminating statements. We demand public retraction of all such statements; in particular we challenge the Council General of Iran to a public debate with the presence of the press at his earliest convenience.

We hereby ask all democratic and progressive people to support us in exposing this plot of the Council General geared at destroying our student organization.

The Secretaries of the ISAUS

Students Protest Pro-Shah Stanford Conference

S.F. Examiner



Tues., Oct. 19, 1971

Conference on Iran Hears Student Views

By Don West

Examiner News Staff

STANFORD — Iranian students who threatened to shut a two day cultural and economic conference on Iran here today returned as a part of the regular program.

Officials of the conference, "Iran: 25 Centuries of Achievement," sponsored by Stanford's Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace yesterday halted a confrontation by agreeing to allow students on the program.

Argument

A youth who identified himself as Parviz, national secretary for the Iranian Associated Students of the U.S., which has some 300 members in Northern California, used an hour of the conference in a statistical argument aimed at tying the U.S. to the present Iranian government.

He blamed the U.S. and Great Britain for failure of the nationalization of the Iranian oil industry, noting that 75 percent of \$1 billion in foreign oil holdings are in the hands of the U.S.

He blamed the present regime for starvation, failure of its economic policies and political repression, which he

asserted caused 4000 arrests before the present 25th century celebration "to keep the peace."

Opening day of the session was otherwise devoted to Persian poetry, festivals, art, architecture and bookbinding with experts from all over the U.S.

Politics, education and land reform were the regularly scheduled subjects today, while the students took up "Emancipation of the Masses."

Dwight James Simpson, chairman of San Francisco State College's Department of International Relations, told the conference that the United States and Britain are arming Iran.

The program may cost as much as \$3.6 billion by 1975, he said, and it is intended to make Iran "the cop on the beat" with the responsibility for maintaining stability in the Persian Gulf.

Attendance at the first sessions had been limited to 20 or 30 persons, but swelled to nearly 200 for the students' portion during the afternoon.

Iran, Dr. Simpson reported, is maintaining continued reliance on the western pow-

ers while, at the same time, lowering its guard against the Soviet Union in an "attempt to work both sides of the street."

Consul Heckled

Dr. Parviz Adle, Iranian consul general whose San Francisco consulate was bombed last week, received the most heat from demonstrators during the morning sessions. He and Dr. Glenn Campbell, Hoover Institution director, gave their opening addresses despite loud catcalls and chants that made much of their statements unintelligible.

Campbell once called off the sessions when demonstrators made it impossible for Persian poetry expert, Dr. Michael Loraine, to speak. Loraine later gave his talk to 24 people after demonstrators left the hall for a special news conference called by the Iranian students.

The student spokesman denied accusations that his group had anything to do with the bombing of the consulate last week.

At Hoover Conference

Iranian Students Condemn Shah

By JIM WASCHER

A resolution condemning the Shah of Iran as well as the Hoover Institution and Dr. Parviz Adle, the Iranian Consul-General in San Francisco climaxed the second day of presentations by the Iranian Students Association (ISA) at a Hoover conference commemorating the 2500th anniversary of the monarchy in Iran.

At the beginning of yesterday's presentation, the Iranian students posted a banner reading "A Hungry Nation Does Not Need A 2500 Year Celebration."

In concluding the attack on the

Shah's economic programs which he had begun on Monday, Parviz stated that the common people of Iran have not shared in the benefits of the nation's increased prosperity and productivity.

The ISA head also attacked what he said were the tragically misordered priorities of the Shah's regime. He pointed out that, in comparison to last year's total expenditure of eight million dollars for the social needs of the people, the government had spent between four and eight hundred million dollars on the extravagant 2500th Year celebration attended by about 100 of the world's heads of state.

The student went on to cite

statistics showing that Iran, while having no apparent foreign enemies, last year spent six times as much on defense as it did on education. He said that this proportion was incomprehensible in a nation where 70 per cent of the people were illiterate.

the resolution which stated that "the participants of this conference condemn the intentions of the Shah's regime and the attempts of Mr. Adle, with the help of the Hoover Institution, to carry out such intentions."

The resolution also decried conditions in Iran and called for support of the Students' Association and its activities.

Standard Daily
Oct. 20, 1971

Lighter Side of Shah's Party

Washington Post
Oct. 16, 1971

One expected Charlton Heston to come galloping up in a two-horse chariot and swoop Her Serene Highness Princess Grace out of the royal bleachers.

Security precautions were so tight for the climax of the Persepolis pageant that Prime Minister Amir Abbas Hoveyda complained he had to show his identification badge at every turning.

But the real triumph belonged to Shodja Aldin Shafa, Iran's imaginative director of celebrations, who only a few days before was said to have wearily issued a final edict to his staff: "If this doesn't go off all right, I am going to shoot myself first and then all of you."

Campaign Of Terror

SHAH OF IRAN KEEPS TIGHT LID ON OPPONENT'S ACTIVITY

New attention is focusing on opposition activity in Iran.

Such activity has been highlighted by recent executions of Shah Muhammad Reza Pahlevi's guerilla opponents and imprisonment of a California woman for contacting dissidents.

Shortly after announcement that five guerillas had been executed, an Iranian military court Nov. 14 sentenced Mrs. Sharon LaBere of Oakland, Calif. to three years in prison for "damaging state security."

Mrs. LaBere, arrested Sept. 7, was found guilty of gathering information about poverty and police repression "to feed foreign propaganda hostile to Iran."

The prosecution stressed her contacts with the U.S. branch of the World Confederation of Iranian Students (WCIS), outlawed in Iran. She had taken part in anti-Shah demonstrations in San Francisco.

Mrs. LaBere, a divorcee now engaged to an Iranian student, appealed for a new trial by a higher Iranian court.

INTELLECTUALS PROTEST

Also last month, prominent French leftist intellectuals, including Simone deBeauvoir and Jean-Paul Sarte asked Iranian Prime Minister Amir Abbas Hoveida for information on 37 persons said to be held in solitary confinement and demanded their public trial. The WCIS and other groups have launched a campaign of hunger strikes and demonstrations in Western countries on the prisoners' behalf.

These events reflect two phases of the opposition; the guerillas and the student movements.

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WELL PUBLICIZED STUDENTS

By far the best publicized opposition is that among an estimated 20,000 Iranian students abroad, organized largely by the WCIS.

The WCIS has organized anti-Shah demonstrations in San Francisco, New York, Chicago, Detroit, and several European cities. It is especially strong in West Germany and Austria.

In October of 1970, Amnesty International, a group investigating the lot of political prisoners sent Frankfurt University Prof. Hans Heldman to Iran. After 10 days of work, he and Hosein Rezai, his Iranian student interpreter-guide from the German University of Mainz, were arrested. Mr. Heldman was expelled after Savak had seized all the material he had collected. Mr. Rezai was jailed.

PROTESTS EFFECTIVE

The ensuing WCIS protest actions in Western Europe and the United States had large impact on liberal and leftist opinion. WCIS was outlawed last January. All members were given two months to resign or face trials in absentia that could bring sentences of 3 to 10 years in prison.

One of the Shah's most articulate Iranian opponents. Prof. Bahman Nirumand, has written pessimistically about the strength of the guerillas inside Iran and of the students and intellectuals outside.

The Christian Science Monitor
December 2, 1971

Swiss Seek Iran Prince on Opium Charge

ZURICH, Switzerland (AP)—A prince in the entourage of the shah of Iran—where drug violations bring the death penalty—is being sought by Switzerland on an opium charge.

Zurich police identified the prince as Huchang Dawallou. They said an arrest warrant issued Monday night accused him of turning over about an ounce of pure opium in Geneva last year to another Iranian prince who lives in West Germany. The other prince was identified only as "Prince K."

Long Meeting

Police said Dawallou left Switzerland with the shah two days ago for Iran. The shah cut short a skiing vacation in St. Moritz the day before the departure and came to Zurich.

Sources said the imperial party held a long meeting on the issue at a Zurich hotel but there was no report on whether the shah planned to take any steps. The prince, who stayed with the shah in St. Moritz and Zurich, left

with him on the emperor's special plane for Tehran, police said.

Examining Judge Pierre C. Weber said the warrant was forwarded to St. Moritz but could not be served on the prince because he enjoyed diplomatic immunity.

Geneva newspapers reported the prince was a distant relative and close confidant of the shah.

Weber's announcement said the warrant stemmed

from a narcotics investigation started Sept. 21.

It said an Iranian resident of Geneva—identified only as "Hasan G."—was arrested a week ago and admitted he acted as middleman in the drug transaction between the two princes.

Iran has dealt out capital punishment to scores of convicted drug traffickers in recent years.

Swiss legal sources say

Iran has signed an international narcotics control agreement in which all signatories pledged to try and punish dope offenses even if committed abroad.

Sources said Iranian tradition holds that diplomatic immunity protects an offender at home as well as abroad and that punishment for the prince in Iran would require formal withdrawal of immunity by the shah himself.

12 San Francisco Chronicle ★ Wed., Mar. 1, 1972

Royal Drug Charge

Zurich

A prince in the entourage of the shah of Iran—where drug violations bring the death penalty—is being sought by Switzerland on an opium charge.

Zurich police identified the prince as Huchang Dawallou. They accused him of turning over about an ounce of pure opium in Geneva last year to another Iranian

prince who lives in West Germany.

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International Federation for Narcotic Education

FOUNDED MARCH 2, 1950

Tel. Metropolitan 8-4744

OFFICE - 918 F STREET, N.W. - ROOM 311
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

INCORPORATED AUGUST 22, 1951

May 19, 1964

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Mr. Clark Kerr, President
University of California
714 University Hall
Berkeley 4, California

Dear Friend and Leader:

The letterhead of this communication indicates the educational work this organization does.

We have heard that you are going to award a degree upon the Shah of Iran. We would like to call your attention to the following paragraph by Mr. M. Parrish, faculty member of Indiana University, which was copied from "The Minority of One, December 1962".

"----- In 1933, heroin was virtually unknown in Iran. Today an estimated 20% of the Iranians under thirty are addicted. Instead of old-fashioned opium, the more efficient heroin was introduced, and each year millions of dollars reach the Shah's pocket through this channel. The narcotics business is not confined to Iran. Two years ago, the Swiss police arrested the Shah's sister, Princess Ashraf, for having several suitcases full of heroin. The F.B.I. and the U. S. Customs Department know that Iran is the greatest source of narcotics smuggled into this country, but the Shah is an ally and we can't afford to antagonize him".

Moreover, the New York Times in publishing a series of articles in support of the Shah, had to acknowledge the increase of the use of heroin in the past ten years. (New York Times, April 12, 1964).

Also we believe that an honorary degree, which is a custom of our free system of education, will be awarded upon the person who has the ability to serve humanity in any way, but what has the Shah done for the people of his country, except to bring death and now narcotic addiction to the people of Iran.

In the name of our officers, thousands of our members and friends and in the name of freedom loving and America loving people, we oppose this award, and for the sake of humanity and democracy we ask you to cancel this ceremony.

Yours for humanity

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION FOR NARCOTIC EDUCATION

Mr. W. Mahoney
Executive Secretary

THE FEDERATION PLAN is a non-profit, long range educational undertaking against juvenile delinquency, which will cooperate in teaching the scientific facts regarding the evil effects of narcotics, especially beverage alcohol and tobacco, to school students everywhere, utilizing existing laws and supplementary educational methods.

Our Prospectus, entitled *The Federation Plan*, will be mailed free on request.

Iranian students raise banner against arrests by Shah

By Lucia Mouat
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

While to many Iran still conjures up memories of a lavish 2,500th anniversary celebration last fall, a small group of Iranian students abroad is working hard to focus public attention on a less savory aspect of Iranian policy.

Nineteen Iranian students in the Washington-New York area and 130 in Paris have recently taken part in a hunger strike to protest what they see as a firm, continuing governmental crackdown on Iranian intellectuals who oppose the Shah and Iran Nova, the well-organized government party.

Specifically, the students have protested the death sentences handed down for more than a dozen of the 120 political prisoners which Savak, Iran's effective internal security arm, has arrested in recent months. The students, members of the worldwide Confederation of Iranian Students, charge torture and a lack of due process of the law.

With scattered support for their ranks from such Americans as Sen. George McGovern; Ralph Abernathy, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and U.S. Rep. Ronald V. Dellums (D) of California, they have been seeking permission from the Iranian Government to send a team of international observers and physicians to investigate the jail conditions for these "political prisoners," as they term them.

Membership in the 12-year-old confederation, which says it represents more than 5,000 Iranian students, was made illegal by government action last year. Members are subject to prison terms of 3 to 10 years.

Chicago today, Saturday, March 11, 1972

Grim reports from Iran

THERE have been increasing grounds for concern over the reports of political terror and repression in Iran. At one time, it was easy to discount such charges. Shah Reza Pahlevi was making a clearly progressive record in such areas as land reform, Iran's economic indicators were up, and the complaints could be readily ascribed to revolutionaries or Communist sympathizers who didn't want any reforms to succeed but their own.

The grim reports can no longer be discounted. They are piling up too fast for that, and in too great detail: Stories of mass arrests and secret trials, torture and inhuman treatment of political prisoners, and a rapidly mounting list of executions, particularly of dissident students. International observers from various human rights groups have tried and failed to get satisfactory information from the Iranian government about these charges.

In the interests of human rights, we think it's time for other governments to express some official concern. We can't keep these things from happening; we can only keep them from happening in silence.

Iran Maintains Trial Secrecy

Washington Post Foreign Service

PARIS, March 11—The Iranian government has banned all foreign journalists and jurists from attending a continuing series of political trials despite serious indications of torture and procedural irregularities, according to a French lawyer who recently returned from Teheran.

The decision, reported by Christian Bourguet who visited Iran for the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, appeared to diminish the chances of clemency for 10 defendants who have been condemned to death and await execution.

Ten men have been executed since the trials began in late January, and a total of 143 defendants are expected to be judged before the military tribunal is scheduled to adjourn next month.

Moreover, pleas for clemency expressed in the French press—running the gamut of opinion from pro-government *Le Figaro* to the Communist Party's *L'Humanite*—appear to have been counter-productive, judging by Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi's angry remarks earlier this week.

"We can neither accept any outsider's interference in our domestic affairs, nor gratuitous criticism which is not only far from the truth, but indeed contrary to the truth," he told visiting West German correspondents accompanying Chancellor Willy Brandt.

The defendants belong to four separate groups which have launched campaigns of violent opposition, saying the shah's regime is incapable of reform.

They are: the National Liberation Movement, an outcropping of old religious and patriotic sentiments which animated Premier Mohammed Mossadegh, who nationalized Iranian oil in 1951 only to be overthrown with CIA help in 1953; Maoists affiliated with a breakaway faction of the outlawed pro-Moscow Tudeh Communist Party; self-proclaimed Communist revolutionaries.

Bourguet's mission was preceded by that of French lawyers Henri Libertalis and Nuri Albala, representing Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists, the International Federation of the Rights of Man and the International Secretariat of Catholic Jurists.

Taken together, these reports note that despite constitutional guarantees that political crimes must be tried before a civilian court with a jury, all such cases are, in fact, handled by military tribunals.

Civilian lawyers were not allowed to plead before these military courts, and indeed members of the bar were obliged to give active or retired army officers crash courses in law to permit them to represent the accused, according to the reports.

Prisoners were held by Savak, the security police, for periods far exceeding the statutory 24-hour delay before they are to be presented to the courts for indictment, the reports said.

Even in the preliminary hearings, which are held in secret, the accused have no legal representative. Before the court itself, the reports said,

alleged confessions are not questioned, evidence said to be in the prosecution dossier is not contested, and the defense lawyers show little interest in their clients, sometimes spending no more than five minutes in pleading on behalf of men facing the death penalty.

Albala noted that during a military tribunal session which he attended Feb. 6 defendant Masud Amadzadeh "suddenly pulled off his sweater in front of everyone and showed me appalling burns on his stomach and back."

When Albala and Libertalis later that day were allowed to meet two defendants, Nasser Sadegh and Ali Mihanidoust, in Tehran's Evine Prison the lawyers asked whether they had been beaten.

Sadegh, who spoke in English, replied, "no, toasted." Albala quoted him as saying that four other defendants "had been burned by being placed on a table which was then heated to white heat" by the security police.

Sadegh said that one of the men thus tortured, named Ashgar Badizadeghan, "since then had been paralyzed in the lower limbs and could only move by crawling forward using his upper arms."

Bourguet recounted his meeting with Dr. Bager Ameli, the chairman of the Iranian Committee on the Rights of Man. Ameli earlier has sent a letter to the Paris newspaper *Le Monde* denying charges of torture that an escaped Iranian political prisoner Reza Rezai had made in its columns.

Ameli told Bourguet that despite the constitutional guarantee for jury trial in

cases of political offenses "a military court has never accepted a jury." Ameli said that no protest was possible now since his committee had not protested when the law, which also set up the security police, was promulgated in 1957.

Since all the accused claimed to have confessed only under torture, Bourguet asked why Ameli had not protested especially in the light of Albala's findings. Ameli conceded that "it was true the accused said they had been tortured, but there was no proof that the wounds were not incurred before their arrest. We cannot protest against torture which has not been proven."

In his description of torture published by *Le Monde*, Rezai said Savak agents were trained "according to Israeli and American methods" and that "Israeli and American advisers were working to perfect the most effective (torture) methods."

The worst torture, he recounted, is meted out in the 24 hours following arrest; prisoners are beaten with a whip made out of electrical cables and are worked over by judo and karate experts.

Iran political trials secret despite reports of tortures

Washington Post Special

PARIS — The Iranian government has banned all foreign journalists and jurists from attending a series of political trials despite serious indications of torture and procedural irregularities, according to a French lawyer recently returned from Tehran.

The ban, reported by Christian Bourguet, who visited Iran for the International Assn. of Democratic Lawyers, appeared to diminish the chances for clemency for 10 condemned men who await execution.

Since the trials began, late in January, 19 men have been executed, 9 of them on Sunday. More than 130 defendants, many of them university graduates, are expected to be judged before the military tribunal adjourns in April.

Moreover, pleas for clemency expressed in the French press — running the gamut of opinion from pro-government *Le Figaro* to the Communist Party's *L'Humanite* — appear to have been counterproductive, judging by Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi's angry remarks last week.

"We can neither accept any outsider's interference in our domestic affairs," he told visiting West German correspondents accompanying Chancellor Willy Brandt, "nor gratuitous criticism, which is not only far from the truth, but indeed contrary to the truth."

The defendants belong to four groups, all of whom sought reform through violent opposition to the regime.

Bourguet's mission was preceded by that of French lawyers Henri Libertalis and Nuri Albala. They represented Amnesty International, the International Assn. of Democratic Lawyers, the International Commission of Jurists, the International Federation of the Rights of Man and the International Secretariat of Catholic Jurists.

Taken together these reports note that despite constitutional guarantees that political crimes must be tried before a civilian court with jury in Iran, all such cases are handled by military tribunals.

Civilian lawyers were not allowed to plead before the military courts and indeed members of the bar were obliged to give active or retired army officers crash courses in the law to permit them to represent the accused, according to the reports.

Although these trials were said to be open to the public, families of the accused and local newsmen were banned.

When Albala and Libertalis were allowed on Feb. 6 to meet two defendants, Nasser Sadegh and Ali Mihandoust, in Tehran's Evine Prison, the lawyers asked whether they had been beaten.

Sadegh, who spoke in English, replied, "No, toasted." Albala quoted him as adding that four other defendants "had been burned by being placed on a table which was then heated to white heat" by Savak agents.

Sadegh said that one of the

men thus tortured, Ashgar Badizadeghan, "since then had been paralyzed in the lower limbs and could only move by crawling forward using his upper arms."

THE SUNDAY STAR
Washington, D. C., February 20, 1972

17 Iranians Continue Fast Here

Seventeen Iranian students from Washington, Baltimore and New York were reported continuing a hunger strike begun here Tuesday to protest "daily news of increasing repression in Iran."

One student was taken to D.C. General Hospital Friday night for observation after fainting at Christ's Church in the Nation's Capital, 4th and I Streets SW, scene of the demonstration, a spokesman said. He was reported in satisfactory condition yesterday.

Members of the Iranian Students Association of Washington-Baltimore began their demonstration a day after 120 members of the Confederation of Iranian Students began an indefinite hunger strike in Paris, the spokesman said.

The protesters said the sentencing of 4 "intellectuals" to death in Iran had brought to 10 the number of "political prisoners sentenced to death by the dictatorial regime of the shah."

Spokesmen said the protest would continue until the "death sentences of the 10 patriots" are canceled and permission is granted for a team of international observers and physicians to investigate.

A spokesman for the Iranian Embassy categorically denied the students' charges and denied they are representative of the thousands of Iranian students in America. He said there had been a number of trials in Iran for acts of terrorism and other valid crimes, not for mere political dissent.

Letters to the editor

Iran students attack 'fascist' Shah

The Iranian Students Assn. in the United States has endeavored in the last few years to illuminate the realities of the fascist government of Iran in the hope that it may direct the humanistic concerns of the American public to the brutal massacre of Iranians by the Shah's regime.

Recent developments remove the ambiguities; the matter is no longer a point of view of Iranian students, but a set of objective facts exposing violations of human rights, murder and boundless dictatorship, all committed by the Shah of Iran.

A well-publicized hunger strike, carried out by Iranian students in Paris and in Washington as a protest to the death-sentences handed down to ten Iranian intellectuals, did not dissuade the regime. The intellectuals were executed the week before last. There are many more awaiting the same fate.

An American attorney, John Thorne, reports that in his attempt to investigate the conditions of the intellectuals facing death he experienced many government-imposed obstacles and "contradictory statements that can be expected from a police state that does not have the slightest respect for the most basic human rights."

There are five more patriots who may be executed in the next few days, and then many more. We appeal to the America public for help to put a stop to all this.

J. KESHAVERZ
Iranian Students Assn.
Chicago

Chicago today, Friday, March 17, 1972

Terror in Iran

A bloody wave of terror and repression is sweeping Iran. Ten opponents of the Shah's regime, mostly young intellectuals and professionals, have been executed after

a military trial which international observers were forbidden to attend.

Another 70 political prisoners will shortly be tried—and very likely executed—by the Iranian dictatorship.

Iran's jails are filled with political prisoners [reportedly in excess of 20,000 persons] whose lives are also in danger. Despite repeated reports that many are being tortured and murdered in prison, the Iranian government has refused to permit impartial observers to investigate their condition.

The SAVAK, or secret police, is attempting to suppress all political opposition, and the Shah's government has made it a crime for Iranian students to join the Iranian Students Association.

Many of my own students

at Roosevelt University are Iranians who will be jailed if they return home, merely because they are active in the Students Association here!

The government of Iran, allied with the United States and the recipient of hundreds of millions of dollars in foreign aid, is on the road to Fascism.

Protests against the execution of political prisoners have been made to the Iranian ambassador in Washington by Congressmen Dellums, Chisholm and Mitchell, Sen. McGovern and Ralph David Abernathy [to name a few].

Chicagoans may add their voices by writing Ambassador Afshar in Washington, D. C.

RICHARD RUBENSTEIN
Associate professor,
Roosevelt University

Iran Executes More Dissidents

Tehran

Nine Iranian dissidents died before a government firing squad last week.

The series of political executions that has taken place this year — ten people were shot earlier this

month — is beginning to upset Western nations, especially West Germany. Chancellor Willy Brandt returned recently from an attempt to improve economic relations with the government of the Shah of Iran.

Coupled with the reported executions are accounts of physical torture, verified by several Western lawyers and observers who traveled to Tehran for the courts-martial of political prisoners.

TORTURE

A French lawyer was told by prisoners that they had been tortured by, among other techniques, being placed on a heated metal table. This was confirmed at one of the military tribunal sessions when a prisoner, seeing a foreign observer, whipped off his shirt to reveal extensive rectangular burn scars.

The number of prisoners held by the "Savak" (secret police) is not known, but is estimated at several hundred. It is known that further death sentences have been passed, and will presumably be carried out in the next few weeks. The majority of the prisoners have not yet come before the courts-martial.

ORGANIZATION

According to Persian dissident sources abroad, the armed resistance to the Shah's government has been organized by two principal groups. The first is the "Siakhai," a Marxist-Leninist group Maoist in approach. At least 23 of its

The second main group is the Organization of Combatants of the People of Iran. This group has affinities with the Al Fatah movement of Palestinian Guerrillas, and OCPI men have been to Palestine for training. The OCPI has attacked numerous police stations and banks in Iranian cities.

San Francisco Chronicle 16
Fri., May 26, 1972

Iran Executes Five Guerrillas

Teheran, Iran

An army firing squad yesterday executed five guerrilla saboteurs convicted on charges including murder, anti-state activities, kidnapping and hijacking, according to a government announcement.

The executions brought to 23 the number of guerrillas executed in Iran this year.

Reuters

Newsweek

○ Newsweek, April 24, 1972

IRAN:

The Shah's Justice

To judge from the world's newspapers, the biggest news out of Iran last week lay in the series of violent earthquakes that hit the southern part of the country and killed 4,000 or more people. But in long-range terms, the most dangerous tremors to rack Iran last week occurred not in the rural south but in Teheran—and they were political, not geological. As part of a stepped-up campaign against its opponents, the regime of Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlevi mercilessly pushed ahead with a massive secret trial of alleged antigovernment terrorists. With 100 or more cases still to go in the four-month-old proceedings, some 30 defendants had already been sentenced to jail and at least 23 others executed by military firing squads.

Rounded up by Iran's ubiquitous secret-police agency, Savak, the alleged terrorists constituted a mixed bag of radicals ranging from militant Maoists to ultraconservative Moslems and had little in common except their desperate opposition to the Shah's autocratic rule. (Although Iran officially has a two-party system, many Iranians jeeringly dismiss their country's two legal parties as the "Yes" party and the "Of Course" party.) According to Savak, the defendants were responsible for a long series of guerrilla incidents including numerous attacks on police stations and assorted bombings. Some of the radicals have also been charged with involvement in a plot to kidnap former U.S. Ambassador to Iran Douglas MacArthur II and an abortive attempt to seize the Shah's 32-year-old nephew, Prince Shahram.

Suicide: For the Shah, who prides himself on the economic successes of his "white revolution," the very existence of such opposition is a grievous embarrass-

ment. Potentially more embarrassing, however, has been the regime's heavy-handed response. As a result of Savak's witch hunts, hundreds of suspects have been arrested without charge and tortured to provide leads for further arrests. At least a dozen suspects have committed suicide rather than submit to interrogation by the police.

Those who have appeared in court have not had it much better. According to observers allowed into the initial sessions in January, there was no cross-examination of witnesses and defense attorneys—officers and ex-officers who had been given crash courses in military law—often spent no more than five minutes pleading the cases of men who faced the death penalty. When foreign reporters and jurists criticized the proceedings, the regime closed the trials, refusing even to admit the parents of the defendants. "To be frank," said one Iranian journalist last week, "no one but Savak and the government knows how many people are being tried any more or what their sentences are."

If anything, the increasingly adverse foreign reaction to all this only seems to have stiffened the regime's resolve. Recently, the Shah declared that the Western press has "no right to advise on matters they know nothing about." And Prime Minister Abbas Hoveyda has been even more blunt. Clearly signaling a continued hard line, he told NEWSWEEK's Loren Jenkins: "If a group brings in firearms and hand grenades and uses them against our police and innocent bystanders, they are judged by the laws of this country. We try them and it is no one else's business. The hell with it if they are convicted and executed. That is their fault, not ours."

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

MONDAY, MAY 15, 1972

When Nixon Visits Iran

IF PRESIDENT Nixon's Moscow visit comes off later this month, his next stop after Russia will be Iran. Under the autocratic rule of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahalavi, Iran is not only the dominant power in the Persian Gulf but also one friendly to the United States.

It will not be the President's first visit to Teheran. As vice president in 1953, Mr. Nixon was awarded an honorary degree at the University of Teheran. Before his arrival, however, Iranian paratroopers, in putting down anti-American demonstrations, killed three students in the Faculty of Engineering.



Shah of Iran

Then, last October, Mr. Nixon's own vice president, Spiro Agnew, joined Soviet President Podgorny and other heads of state from around the world for an extraordinary display by the Shah of lavish spending amid poverty. The occasion was Iran's 25th Centennial "birthday party" at Persepolis.

A month before, Savak, the Shah's secret police, arrested, interrogated and then released between 1,000 and 4,000 persons suspected of being anti-government, according to a report by Amnesty International.

Three days before the royal party, five alleged anti-government plotters

were executed while 37 others awaited appeals of their sentences.

The point is that until Mr. Nixon's planned state visit to Iran drew near, little mention of the apparent political repression in "friendly" Iran was made in the U.S. press.

Last month, however, Newsweek magazine took note of the situation. "As part of a stepped up campaign against its opponents," Newsweek reported, the Shah "mercilessly pushed ahead with a massive secret trial of alleged antigovernment terrorists. With 100 or more cases still to go in the four-month-old proceedings, some 30 defendants had already been sentenced to jail and at least 23 others executed by military firing squads."

Even more damaging to the rosy image which the Shah managed to convey through U.S. news media during the Centennial celebration, however, is the first-hand report by Newsweek's Loren Jenkins that Savak has arrested hundreds of suspects without charge and tortured them to provide leads for further arrests and that "at least a dozen suspects have committed suicide rather than submit to interrogation by police."

Whatever else President Nixon's Iranian visit accomplishes, it should, we hope, finally focus more careful attention by the U.S. press on the repressive as well as the constructive aspects of the Shah's rule.

$$\begin{array}{r} 62 \\ 63 \\ \hline 125 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 63 \\ 188 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 31 \\ 219 \end{array}$$

$$51$$

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$$302$$

$$111$$

$$191$$

$$19.10$$

$$8.55$$

$$10.55$$

$$4.00$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 154 \\ -50 \\ -60 \\ \hline -120 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 40 \\ -80 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 70 \\ -10 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 52 \\ 41 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 71 \\ 111 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 2.25 \\ .50 \\ \hline 1.75 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 1.75 \\ 2.00 \\ 2.00 \\ \hline 5.75 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 10.55 \\ 5.75 \\ \hline 4.80 \end{array}$$

80